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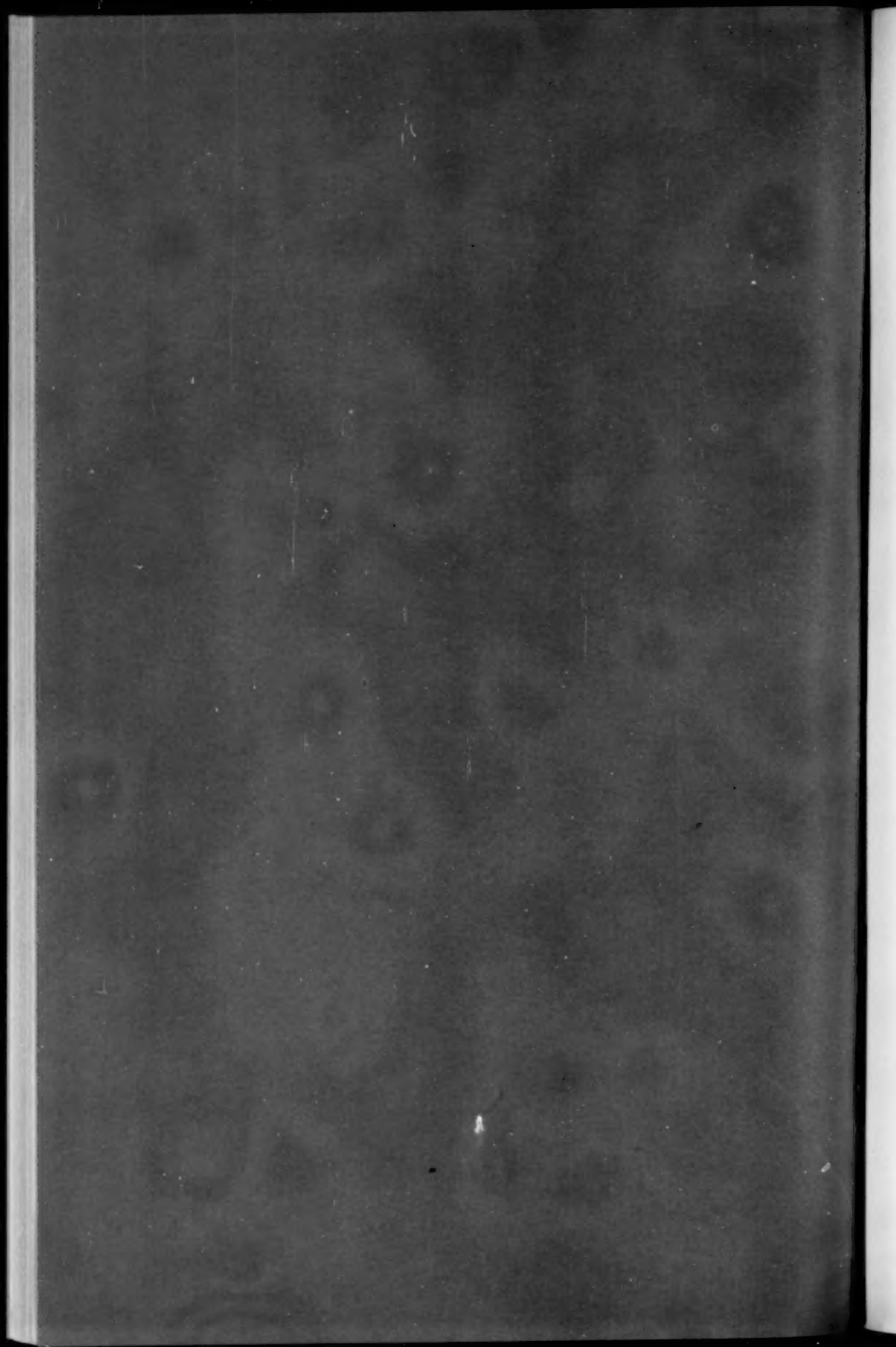
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The Enlisted Soldier at the Frontier Post, 1790-1814

At the bottom of the military hierarchy stood the common soldier. The regular army of the period was founded upon voluntary enlistment and represented quite a different type of personnel from that which makes up the present-day armed forces, which are based upon the military draft supplemented by voluntary enlistment. Since military service was then relatively less attractive than it is now, recruiting activities occupied an important place in the military organization and in some cases came to be a major operation at the frontier post.¹

A recruiting detail generally included the familiar sergeants and musicians and sometimes a commissioned officer.² The payment

Editor's Note: This study was made possible, in part, by research grants from Southern Illinois University.

¹ Detailed researches on Fort Massac in Southern Illinois reveal that this post almost continually had some men on recruiting detail. See, for example, Secretary of War to General Wilkinson, 2 December, 1808, War Office, Military Book, III, 456. At this time Fort Massac was designated as a receiving center for western recruits. See also Inspector General to Major William McRea, 4 May, 1805, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, 12 February, 1805-4 September, 1809, unnumbered pages; General Orders, 7 April, 1806, Wilkinson Order Book, 581; Inspector General to Captain D. Bissell, 18 January, 1803, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, September, 1800-April, 1803, 402; same to Daniel Vertner, 18 January, 1803, *ibid.*, 404. Unless otherwise stated references to manuscript materials used in this article are to materials found in the files of WD, AGO, the National Archives.

² Inspector General to Major William McRea, 4 May, 1805, *loc. cit.* This letter mentions "Officers, non Commissioned Officers and Musicians." General Wilkinson in 1805 mentions sending a detail to Tennessee consisting of officers "with music and Sergeants." Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 December, 1805, in C. E. Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 20 vols., Washington, 1934-1954, XIII, 298. Again we find a detail being sent from Fort Adams in 1808 composed of two captains, three lieutenants, and "such non Commissioned officers and musicians as

of bounties to encourage enlistment was of course necessary, these sums amounting to as much as sixty dollars according to a recommendation of General Wilkinson in 1805. It should be pointed out that such a bounty was equivalent to a year's pay for the recruit.³ Little has been found concerning recruiting methods used in this period, but these probably were not greatly different from the traditional ones built around music and the bounty. American juries, however, would generally release a man who had been forced to enlist or who had been enlisted while drunk.⁴ Evidently civilian agents were also used in the recruiting program; these persons were paid for each recruit brought in.⁵

Many recruits were enlisted in Tennessee and Kentucky; others came in on assignment from the eastern areas. The system was doubtless capable of drawing personnel from various walks of life as well as from foreign countries. Men of French, British, and Spanish blood mingled with farm boys from the frontier, though American-born men doubtless predominated.⁶

The pay of enlisted men in the period under consideration compared favorably with that of foreign armies.⁷ The ordinary pay of the troops was increased when extra duty was required of the personnel, particularly if the duty involved physical labor such as

may be assigned to them..." District Orders, Columbian Spring, 29 September, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination.

³ Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 December, 1805, *loc. cit.*

⁴ William N. Blane, *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada during the Years 1822-23*, London, 1824, 381. Blane has a valuable chapter on the American Army, pp. 377 ff. A general court martial held at Cantonment Washington in November, 1810, heard the case of Lieutenant John Davis who was charged, among other things, with using threats, confinement, and other unfair means to force certain individuals to enlist in the army. The lieutenant was freed on a technicality. General Orders, New Orleans, 6 July, 1811, in Orders, Baton Rouge, no pagination.

⁵ Captain Z. M. Pike relates how a half-breed Chickasaw appeared at Fort Pickering in 1799 with two enlistees. "...He made a charge of forty Dollars I thought it advisable to order him three Gallons of Public whiskey & pay him Cash twelve dollars & ninety four cents..." Pike to Cushing, 13 October, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 49-50.

⁶ See Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1812, 91. Cuming tells of meeting a handsome sentinel at Fort Pickering who had deserted a French ship commanded by Jerome Bonaparte. *Cuming's Tour* in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, IV, Cleveland, 1904, 294. Many of Major Doyle's men at Fort Massac were British deserters. Doyle to Wayne, 3 July, 1794, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Cited hereafter as "HSP."

⁷ Blane considered the American troops well paid. *An Excursion*, 379. The pay scale of 1807 provided for the following monthly rates: sergeants, \$10, corporals, \$8, musicians, \$8, and privates, \$7. "Estimate of the expenses of a Regiment of infantry, per annum..., 1807," *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 225. Cited hereafter as "ASP."

construction work. Thus Colonel Thomas Butler was ordered to allow extra pay of ten to fifteen cents to the troops assigned to work on the Natchez-Nashville pike in 1802.⁸ It is not clear whether "haying," i.e., the gathering of forage for military horses and other animals kept at the post, was considered "extra duty."⁹ "Haying" should be distinguished from "cropping," which refers to the soldiers tilling crops about the post for their own profit.¹⁰ Pensions were paid only to men disabled in the service.¹¹

The common soldier was reasonably well-clothed. In 1804 the secretary of war expressed concern about the quality of the uniforms issued to the men, stating that in his opinion it was better "to err in favor of the Soldier than against him. . . ."¹² Later it was estimated that the cost of clothing a common soldier for one year was approximately thirty-four dollars.¹³ Sometimes the western soldier found himself without the necessary clothing or was forced to accept clothing intended for another branch of the service.¹⁴ Too,

⁸ Secretary of War to Lt. Col. Butler, 16 April, 1802, War Office, Military Book, 1800-1803, 192-193; same to Archibald Roan, 18 July, 1803, *ibid.*, 513-514. In 1802 the Secretary of War ordered that soldiers detailed for work on a house to be used by the Indian agency at Fort Wayne should each receive "15 Cents and one Gill of Spirits extra for every days work actually performed." Secretary of War to Thomas Pasteur, 4 June, 1802, Carter, VII, 52. In 1807 ten cents per day was paid for similar work done at Chicago (Fort Dearborn) and other northwestern posts. John Mason to Secretary of War, 13 May, 1809, Carter, XIV, 274.

⁹ For references to "haying" see Doyle to Wayne, 26 February, 1794; Wayne to Doyle, 4 March, 1794; Doyle to Wayne, 12 March, 1794, all in HSP; Captain E. B. Clemson to D. Bissell, 22 July, 1812, inclosure, Bissell to Secretary of War, 7 August, 1812, Carter, XIV, 586.

¹⁰ This was forbidden by a general order of 12 June, 1797. Wilkinson Order Book, 95. Soldiers also occasionally bred livestock and did labor for civilians. General Orders, Headquarters, Washington, D. C., 12 July, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination.

¹¹ Secretary of War to William Clark, 7 August, 1809, Carter, XIV, 290; Postmaster General to George Poindexter, 8 December, 1809, *ibid.*, VI, 34.

¹² Secretary of War to Tench Coxe, 21 January, 1804, War Office, Military Book, 17 November, 1803-28 February, 1807, 33.

¹³ The exact figures were \$34.07½ for an infantry private and \$34.41 for an artillery private. Rules and Regulations for the Army for 1803, Clothing, ASP, *Mil. Aff.*, I, 436-437.

¹⁴ Clothing was especially scarce in 1799 since importers of cloth could not supply the contractors. Extract of a Letter from the Secretary of War, 10 July, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 16-17; Pike to Cushing, 13 October, 1799, *ibid.*, 48-49; Captain P. Pasteur to Cushing, 12 August, 1799, *ibid.*, 38. Wilkinson tells of recruits in 1805 who were "so ragged & naked, . . . that I considered it a duty to appropriate . . . Artillery Cloathing for a Company . . . which had been lodged for the recruiting service." Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 15 June, 1805, Carter, XIII, 135-136. In 1809 the Inspector General ordered Colonel Thomas Butler to clothe his musicians with ordinary infantrymen's coats. Inspector General to Butler, 8 December, 1809, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, 4 September, 1809-7 March, 1811, 60.

clothing might arrive in damaged condition, as was the case in 1805 and 1806 when consignments of clothing were sunk in passing the Falls at Louisville.¹⁵ In war time these inconveniences were necessarily more serious and aggravated. In 1813 a Quartermaster's Department was established to alleviate such problems.¹⁶ One instance has been found in which enlisted men were provided blankets only after they had agreed to pay for them should the purchase not be approved by the War Department.¹⁷

Tailoring and fitting of uniforms was done generally by two tailors detailed from each company.¹⁸ At Baton Rouge in 1811 a staff meeting of officers discussed problems pertaining to tailoring.¹⁹ Evidently the uniforms of private soldiers were not always standard, either in style or color. Commanding officers had power to prescribe details concerning the uniforms worn by their organizations.²⁰

Little has been found concerning the living quarters of the soldier at the frontier post. Except at New Orleans where the French barracks remained, little mention is made of brick or stone housing.²¹ In 1805 the secretary of war authorized the erection of brick barracks

¹⁵ Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 December, 1805, Carter, XIII, 299; Major Bruff to Wilkinson, 12 March, 1805, *ibid.*, 103; John B. Treat to William Davy, 25 August, 1805, *ibid.*, 191-192; Secretary of War to Tench Coxe, 6 November, 1806, War Office, Military Book, 17 November, 1803-28 February, 1807, 529.

¹⁶ For shortages of clothing and other equipment among the troops of the Twenty-Fourth Regiment of Infantry, assembled at Fort Massac in 1813, see Norman W. Caldwell, "Fort Massac: Since 1805," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLIV, No. 1, 56-57. See also Governor Howard to Secretary of War, 6 March, 1813, Carter, XIV, 641. Writing in 1814 Colonel William Russell said that the quartermaster's office at St. Louis was "very burthensom [sic] to the government, and [I] hope after this business is settled, to have it in my power to cartail [sic] that expense very much." Russell to Secretary of War, 20 October, 1814, Carter, XIV, 796.

¹⁷ Governor Holmes to General Wilkinson, 19 October, 1812, Carter, VI, 329. Holmes had purchased the blankets on his own authority. These had been delivered to the men "upon condition that if the Government requires it, the Cost shall be deducted out of their pay."

¹⁸ See Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 6, 9 October, 1810, no pagination; Orders, Baton Rouge, 1 March, 18 April, 1811, no pagination.

¹⁹ Orders, Baton Rouge, 15, 18 March, 1811, no pagination.

²⁰ Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 13 August, 1810, no pagination; *ibid.*, 23 August, 1810, no pagination. In 1799 Captain B. Shamburgh at Fort Stoddert reported that woollen overalls of all colors had been sent to his post, resulting in the men being clothed rather "Fantastically." Shamburgh to Cushing, 20 October, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 59-60.

²¹ The New Orleans barracks were used by American troops in the period under consideration. See Stoddard, *Sketches*, 154; also Zadok Cramer, *The Navigator; Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers*, Pittsburgh, 1814, 317 (appendix), citing Stoddard. 1500 men could be housed at the New Orleans barracks.

at Detroit, provided bricks could be manufactured locally, but it is not clear whether these were actually built.²² At the smaller posts, however, and in temporary quarters, the common soldier lived in log hutments or other improvised structures. Generally speaking, he was probably not well-housed. "Police" details in each hut or barracks room cooked the provisions and kept the room in order. Evidently only two meals per day were provided—at 8:15 a.m. and 12:20 p.m. at Cantonment Washington. Sometimes there were no mess tables, a deficiency which one officer sought to eradicate.²³ Then, as in the army of today, one meets with petty irregularities in the barracks. Some of these mentioned were sticking candles against the walls and throwing old clothing on the roofs.²⁴

The problem of "passes" is also frequently met, especially in posts near larger civilian communities.²⁵ Soldiers going to Natchez in 1799 were ordered to be "clean shaved, dressed, and powdered."²⁶ Inspections and drills were held on Sundays, as a rule.²⁷ No evidence

²² The barracks mentioned in this case were strikingly similar to those of present-day construction. Each barracks was to be 20 feet by 62 feet and was to be partitioned into four rooms in the main or first storey, each room to be heated by a large fireplace. The half-storey above was a single room for sleeping quarters. Two windows of twenty panes of 7 inch by 9 inch glass were to be provided for each of the rooms below. Windows for the half-storey were to contain twelve panes of like glass. Along the front of each building was to be a piazza seven feet wide with a gravelled floor and benches against the wall. The buildings, if of wood, were to be painted brown, trimmed in white. Officers' barracks were to be of similar construction with some variations in internal arrangement. Secretary of War to Samuel T. Dyson, 5 August, 1805, Carter, X, 26. Many officers, no doubt, had their own dwelling houses, sometimes outside the fort as Captain Bissell did at Fort Massac. Cuming in *loc. cit.*, 277. Evans found a colonel at Niagara in 1818 living in some style with a parlor and servant. Estwick Evans, *A Pedestrian Tour, of Four Thousand Miles, Through the Western States and Territories, During the Winter and Spring of 1818*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 165-166.

²³ Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 19 July, 20 August, 1810, no pagination.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 November, 1810, no pagination.

²⁵ Company orders at Baton Rouge in 1811 complained of the excessive number of passes given non-commissioned personnel, who thus neglected their duties in the barracks. Orders, Baton Rouge, 12 April, 1811, no pagination.

²⁶ Cushing to Captain John Wade, 1 November, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 82. On the occasion of the death of General Washington, general passes were issued to such troops at Fort Adams "who can appear clean & well dress'd to join the civilians at Natchez in the memorial services." Music was also to be furnished by the troops. Same to same, 18 February, 1800, *ibid.*, 125.

²⁷ See Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 11 September, 1810, no pagination. No regular chaplains were provided except for higher commands. The Articles of War recommended attendance at divine services, forbade swearing, and penalized chaplains who did not do their duties. See Articles II, III, and IV, in Alexander Macomb, *A Treatise on Martial Law and Courts Martial; as practiced in the United States of America*, Charleston, 1809, 197 ff.

has been found of organized games or activities among the men, unless a reference to the distribution of extra liquor to an entire company at Baton Rouge may indicate some kind of intra-mural contests as being held.²⁸ Many references are found to card playing and a single order issued against "the odious [sic] and Cruel practice of Cock Fighting . . .," indicates that the men had certain other forms of entertainment.²⁹

Much could be written concerning discipline in the regular army during the period under consideration. By all accounts discipline would seem to have been much more harsh than that in current practice in the national armed forces. Flogging and branding were still used as disciplinary measures, though the latter was limited to special cases.³⁰ In addition to the harshness of the punishments, there was a deliberate policy of frightening the convict, even if he had been pardoned. Thus a man sentenced to death in 1806 was to have his pardon read to him only after he was "brought under the Gallows. . ."³¹

Post records reveal an astonishing number of disciplinary cases. At Cantonment Washington in 1810-1811, where some dozen companies of men were stationed, a regimental court met almost daily, the firing of a cannon announcing its sitting.³² Offenses tried ranged through a long list, among which were drunkenness, unauthorized absences, disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, rioting and dueling, stealing, wife beating, gambling, lewdness in the

²⁸ Orders, Baton Rouge, 7 April, 1811, no pagination.

²⁹ Garrison Orders, Fort Adams, 23 February, 1808, no pagination.

³⁰ A few examples of sentences taken from general courts martial cases may be cited. For ordinary desertion, 100 lashes; for sleeping on guard, 100 lashes; for theft of a blanket, 50 lashes; for threatening the life of an officer, 100 lashes; for striking a non-commissioned officer, 100 lashes. Wilkinson Order Book, various orders, 1798, 135-138, 154-155, 140-141. A deserter who reenlisted was sentenced to receive 50 lashes and to be branded in the forehead with the letter "D" and to be "drummed" out of the service. The man sentenced was an old offender. General Orders, 4 January, 1807, *ibid.*, 670-671. A horse thief was sentenced to receive 100 lashes and to be put to hard labor with a 5½ inch shell loaded with lead chained to one foot. His head and one eyebrow were to be shaved and, upon the expiration of his enlistment, he was to be "drummed" out of camp. Four-fifths of the man's pay was to be forfeited to the local Indian agent. General Orders, 16 July, 1802, *ibid.*, 392-393. In 1806 the maximum number of lashes which could be given was reduced to 50. Art. LXXXVII, Articles of War, in Macomb, 243.

³¹ Secretary of War to Col. Constant Freeman, 24 November, 1806, War Office, Military Book, III, 98.

³² Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 19 September, 1810; *ibid.*, 17 April, 1811, no pagination.

barracks ("great habits of indecency"), cheating a civilian, and fighting.³³ More severe punishments were dealt out for stealing the effects of a dead officer, mayhem, extreme wife beating, stabbing a fellow soldier, and neglect of a loaded musket.³⁴

The widespread prevalence of drunkenness deserves special attention. It was the opinion of Lieutenant Colonel Zebulon Montgomery Pike that drunkenness among the troops in both the American and British armies was at that time a national disgrace and he attributed to it half the diseases and deaths of the army.³⁵ Many intoxicated men were committed to the "black hole" by company commanders without trial for a short period, while corps commanders might so commit a person for up to forty-eight hours.³⁶ Chronic drunkards might be given as many as fifty lashes with "wired Catts."³⁷ In spite of severe punishments, however, drunkenness remained the most frequent offense coming to the attention of courts martial. Not only was liquor issued in the daily ration, it was also offered in extra amounts on special occasions.³⁸ Other means by which the soldier might procure extra liquor were through

³³ See especially Orders, Cantonment Washington, various dates. Sentences for these offenses were from ten to thirty lashes, variations being solitary confinement and denial of privileges.

³⁴ Garrison Orders, Fort Adams, 18 November, 1807, 12 February, 1808, 9 April, 1808, no pagination; Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 2, 3 October, 1810, and 27 August, 1810, no pagination. Such offenses carried penalties of up to 50 lashes or solitary confinement in the "black hole" for as long as one month in extreme cases. Men in the "black hole," however, could be released on order of the commanding officer. Orders, Cantonment Washington, 7, 24 October, 1810, no pagination.

³⁵ Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 16 August, 1810, no pagination. See also Garrison Orders, Baton Rouge, 18 March, 1811, no pagination. Here Pike states that intoxication "has been the Cause of the death of many of our [otherwise] Valuable Soldiers..." Amos Stoddard gives the classic explanation of why drunkenness was so common. He writes, "One has the gout, and stimulating potions will drive it away. A second is cold, and they will warm him. A third is warm, and they will cool him. A fourth is disturbed in his mind, and they will obliterate his cares. A fifth complains of the foulness of the water, and they will purify it. A sixth, from long habit, has become habituated to them, and they alone will steady his nerves, and keep him in an equilibrious state." Stoddard doubted that any measures would lessen the evil. *Sketches*, 305-306.

³⁶ Orders, Baton Rouge, 4 March, 1811, no pagination.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4 April, 1811, no pagination. Severe sentences were also meted out to men found drunk on guard. Orders, Cantonment Washington, 30 July, 1810, no pagination.

³⁸ "As tomorrow is imphatically [sic] the birthday of our Country, each Soldier will Receive one Gill of extra whiskey at 12 O'clock..." Garrison Orders, Fort Dearborn (near Natchez), 3 July, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination.

purchase from his comrades and from private liquor dealers, authorized or unauthorized.³⁹

Desertion was also very common and, in spite of the heavy penalties assessed, there were so many offenders that blanket pardons for the offense were issued in 1807 and again in 1810.⁴⁰ Desertions were most common in posts adjacent to foreign territory or to Indian nations.⁴¹ Desertions were also heavy during campaigns. General St. Clair's army lost about fifteen per cent of its strength in marching from Reading to Fort Pitt in 1792.⁴² The deserters not only weakened the military strength of the frontier armed force, but they sometimes added their numbers to the ranks of the enemy, especially when they joined the Indians.⁴³ Unenviable, indeed, was the position of the frontier officer, who, in the face of increasing danger from enemies, could only watch his small force decline steadily in numbers through desertion, death, or discharge.⁴⁴

³⁹ See Garrison Orders, Cantonment Washington, 9 August, 1810, no pagination. A camp follower who sold liquor to the troops "at the bake house" at Cantonment Washington in 1810 was sentenced to the "black hole." *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1810, no pagination.

⁴⁰ Inspector General to All Commanding Officers, 3 February, 1810, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, 4 September, 1809-7 March, 1811, 92-93; Presidential Proclamations, 15 October, 1807, 20 January, 1810, War Office, Military Book, III, 225; *ibid.*, IV, 269. See also Regimental Orders, Columbian Spring, 20 November, 1807, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination; Orders, Baton Rouge, 1 April, 1811, no pagination. The common deserter got at least 50 lashes, while old offenders sometimes received more. Captain Shamburgh tells of old offenders at Fort Stoddert running the gauntlet eighteen times! Shamburgh to Cushing, 31 August, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 39; Orders, Cantonment Washington, 30 August, 1810, no pagination. An old offender at Cantonment Washington was ordered to have his head half-shaved, to run the gauntlet three times, to make up his time lost by desertion, and to serve the remainder of his time in ball and chain. The reviewing officer remitted the gauntlet running. Orders, Cantonment Washington, 6 September, 1810, no pagination.

⁴¹ For a discussion of desertion at Fort Massac, see Pike to Wayne, 6 August, 1796; Pike to Wayne and Wilkinson, 12 April, 1796, both in HSP. Pike was losing an average of a man per month at Fort Massac at that time. Major Doyle explained the heavy desertions in that many of the men were former British deserters who had enlisted in the American forces and who were thus already experienced in the business. Doyle to Wayne, 3 July, 1794, HSP. In 1799 Wilkinson had an agreement with the Spanish to extradite deserters from either side. Cushing to the Spanish Governor, 5 September, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 47-48.

⁴² Secretary of War to the President, 28 July, 1792, Carter, IV, 159.

⁴³ In 1793 Governor Blount became much concerned about deserters who had joined the Cherokee. In addition to ordinary rewards, the Governor promised twenty dollars and a keg of whiskey for the apprehension of these men. Blount to Secretary of War, 15 May, 1793, Carter, IV, 258-259.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Lt. Col. Richard Sparks to Secretary of War, 12 July, 1810, Carter, VI, 81. Sparks referred to the number of desertions at Fort Stoddert as being so great as "will appear to you Sir no doubt remarkable." Dread of the climate at Fort Stoddert was a chief factor in the high rate of desertion there.

Reviewing officers sometimes saw fit to remit all or part of the punishment assigned by courts martial. Thus several soldiers sentenced to wear the ball and chain were released in 1811 at Baton Rouge, some of these, at least, having "manifested Great wideness of repentance for their [sic] offence..."⁴⁵ The sentence of an old soldier or of a sick or wounded man might also be reduced.⁴⁶ Men sentenced at Baton Rouge for appearing on parade dirty were excused because of the scarcity of soap, or because the court itself took pity on one man who would have been forced to exhaust "his small pitence" [sic] in buying items to keep himself clean.⁴⁷ Another man, sentenced to receive fifty lashes "on his bare posterior" [sic] was indulged in having the said lashes applied to his bare back instead, the reviewing officer invoking "considerations of delicacy."⁴⁸

The soldier was also subject to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities for certain offenses. In some cases, however, determined officers might shield themselves or their men against the civil authorities.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Judge Harry Toulmin of Mississippi Territory was charged with having examined civilian witnesses at Fort Stoddert "at the point of a Bayonet—."⁵⁰ Other cases are found in which a military defendant was released to the civil authorities for trial.⁵¹

⁴⁵ General Orders, Baton Rouge, 25 April, 1811, no pagination.

⁴⁶ Garrison Orders, Fort Adams, 18 January, 1808, no pagination; Garrison Orders, Baton Rouge, 17 April, 1811, no pagination; Orders, Cantonment Washington, 18 August, 1810, no pagination.

⁴⁷ Orders, Baton Rouge, 8 April, 1811, no pagination; Orders, Cantonment Washington, 18 August, 1810, no pagination.

⁴⁸ Garrison Orders, Fort Adams, 3 March, 1808, no pagination.

⁴⁹ In *Lively vs. Ledbetter*, 1813, the County Commissioner's Court of Randolph County, Illinois Territory, decided that it had no jurisdiction over the defendant, a soldier who had defaulted on a debt, because he "at the time of his arrest was in the regular service of the army of the United States..." Randolph County Commissioners' Court Record, 1811-1814, Session of 28 June, 1813.

⁵⁰ Grand Jury Presentment, Baldwin County, Mississippi Territory (no date), enclosure in Cowles Mead to Speaker of the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, 20 November, 1811, Carter, VI, 243-246.

⁵¹ In 1792 a sergeant of the First United States Regiment (regular army) was tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions of Hamilton County, Northwest Territory, for assault and battery against a citizen, and was found guilty. The sergeant was sentenced to pay a fine of three dollars, to receive fifteen lashes, and to make bond for his future good behavior for six months. Acting Governor Sargent remitted the corporal punishment, but confirmed the rest of the sentence. Proclamation of Acting Governor Sargent, 17 February, 1792, Carter, III, 365-366. In another case, a man, charged with forgery in Canada, had fled to Detroit and had subsequently enlisted in the United States Army; upon the request of the Canadian authorities, this man was ordered extradited. Request of Acting Governor Sargent to Lt. Col. David Strong, 8 May, 1798; Sargent to Peter Audrian, 8 May, 1798, both in Carter, III, 506-507.

Territorial legislation gave soldiers a special legal status in reference to the drawing up of wills, it being provided in both the Northwest Territory and Indiana Territory that nuncupative wills of soldiers and sailors were to be excepted from general rules of probate.⁵²

NORMAN W. CALDWELL

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⁵² Act of 19 June, 1795, *Laws of Northwest Territory* in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XVII, 234. See also *Laws of Indiana Territory*, *ibid.*, XXI, 284, for a similar act passed in 1807.

Catholic Press Reaction to the Custer Disaster

In 1876, the Indian Bureau requested that certain wild bands of Plains Indians should be compelled to settle on their reservations under the guidance and control of an Indian agent.¹ The War Department authorized this action against the "hostiles" who were under the commands of Sitting Bull, on the Little Missouri in Dakota, and Crazy Horse on the Powder River in Wyoming.² The army forces were under the direction of General Philip Sheridan while other leaders of the expedition were Generals Alfred Terry, George Crook, John Gibbon, and George Custer. Thus began a series of events which were to culminate in the largest engagement between hostile Indians and organized troops on the North American continent. The tragic climax came on June 25, 1876, when General George A. Custer and five troops of the Seventh United States Cavalry, 225 men, were completely wiped out by Indians at the battle of the Little Big Horn River in Montana. This episode has ever since intrigued historians of the West and may be considered one of the most popular in all American historiography.

The nation was to learn for the first time of this disaster through a special correspondent of the *Herald* of Helena, Montana, in a dispatch dated July 2, 1876. The shocking news stunned the country, and it is not surprising that some Catholic publications should have commented on this famous incident in American history. During this time, Catholic newspapers were published weekly, so that news appearing in them was usually late and copied from secular dailies. However, the editorial opinions of Catholic editors cast an interesting light on the reaction of one segment of American society to the story of the Little Big Horn. A lack of an enduring Catholic

¹ It is rather paradoxical that General Custer should have been killed while attempting to carry out these orders, in view of what he had written a few months before his death: "I often think that if I were an Indian I would greatly prefer to cast my lot among those of my people who adhered to the free open plains rather than submit to the confined limits of a reservation, there to be the recipient of the blessed benefits of civilization, with its vices thrown in without stint or measure." See General George Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, New York, 1876, 18.

² The term "hostiles" was used at this time in reference to any Indian band living off the established reservations.

interest in the incident may be deduced from the scarcity of articles in the less frequently published Catholic periodicals.³

While the news of the Custer affair was traveling eastward, the *Western Home Journal* of the Diocese of Detroit carried an article dated July 8, 1876, taken from the *New York Sun* concerning Generals Crook, Gibbon, and Terry's march into the Black Hills. Commenting on the expedition, it deplored the fact that the generals' action was leading to a "bloody, fruitless, and expensive war." The opinion was expressed that the Sioux would fight desperately for their Black Hills country, "to which they are entitled by law and equity. . . They are fighting for their rightful country and the hunting grounds of which they justly claim possession, they will stand to the last and give no quarter." This attitude, which was shared by many of the leading philanthropists of the time, was based on the reasoning that because the Indians, and not the white men, were the original inhabitants of the United States they possessed inalienable rights which were unjustly being snatched away. Among Catholics, James McMaster, editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal*, as will be seen, was especially influenced by this belief and it appeared in much of his writing.

The question as to whether the authority over the Indians should be or should not be transferred from the Department of the Interior to the War Department was argued from 1867-1879.⁴ Some Catholic papers took sides in the controversy between the exponents and opponents of the Indian extermination policy, and the article which the *Western Home Journal* printed expressed their feelings toward the army by saying:

... our troops have long looked on the killing of a red skin with the same nonchalance as a street boy on killing a wharf rat. It has not been a rare thing in the history of the life on the plains for men to go out

³ Edward Jacker, "Who is to Blame for The Little Big Horn Disaster," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, October, 1876, 713-739. The title of the article is completely misleading. After mentioning Custer briefly, it proceeds to give the earliest known history of the Sioux as taken from French writings concerning the Jesuits. Father Jacker's implication is that if those missionaries had had a more lasting influence upon the Indians, the Sioux would not have been warlike. The *Catholic World*, leading Catholic magazine, gave no comment whatsoever. Not even its review of outstanding events in the year 1876 mentioned the battle of the Little Big Horn. *Brownson's Review* resumed publication that year, but too late to comment upon the event. The *Ave Maria*, a devotional magazine, carried the story concerning Captain Keogh which was reprinted from the *Catholic Telegraph*; cf. *infra*. The item was carried under "Catholic Notes" with Keogh's name misspelled "Kehoe."

⁴ Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, New Brunswick, 1942, 15.

hunting Indians as the Prince of Wales did tigers in the jungles of his mother's East Indian Empire.

However, since Grant's Administration was under investigation it did not escape attack, and the entire cause of Indian trouble was laid upon the type of Indian agents appointed by the government, "a more scurvy lot of fellows than the Indian agents it would be hard to pick up anywhere." The stories of graft provoked indignant remarks against the administration, but this journal offered no solution to the problem and conceded, "the blackest blot on our civilization is the manner in which we treated the Indians. Canada and the Indians are at peace," the paper exclaimed, "because they have been righteously dealt with."⁵ The following week, on July 15, the story from Montana was released together with a full statement by General Terry. The Detroit paper then became strangely silent and not until August 12, in the form of two short news paragraphs, was there any mention of the Indian war.

Rather unique insofar as it expressed the prevalent feeling of western hatred on its front page was *The San Francisco Monitor*, which carried its opinion in a small paragraph. It was one thing, the Catholic editor on the coast thought, for complacent easterners, who feared the loss of neither life nor property, to sympathize and defend the Indians; and another thing for a westerner, who felt he was in constant danger of losing both, to do so. "Frontier hostility, unlike the sentimentality of the East, was firmly based on practical experience with the tribes."⁶ The rumors which spread after the battle only succeeded in increasing this hostility. Is it any wonder that cries for revenge were uttered after reading, for example, that the Indians had cut out Custer's heart, placed it on a pole, and did a war dance around it!

The massacre of General Custer and his brave band has aroused a stronger war feeling throughout the country than has been known since the war fever of 1861. The feeling is universal that his death must be avenged, even if it requires the extermination of the Sioux nation. Offers of volunteers have been made to the War Department from different portions of the country, more particularly from the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and an act will doubtless pass Congress authorizing the acceptance of such aid. It is now too late to discuss the equities of the Sioux, the slaughter on the Little Big Horn must be avenged.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, 173. "While the United States recognized Indian rights theoretically but was forced to violate them, the Dominion granted the Indians less but lived up to her bargains. . . . Canadian Indian policy was a success not because Canadian Indians were treated more liberally than those of the United States, but because they were treated more fairly."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁷ July 15, 1876.

The *Monitor's* article, although brief, was very much to the point. The use of such strong and un-Christian words as "avenge" and "extermination" was not found in any other Catholic publication; however, the *Monitor* expressed western feeling and the spirit of the times as embodied in the maxim, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

A good example of contrasting opinion to the *Monitor's* violent reaction was to be found in the *Boston Pilot*. The views as presented in an editorial showed a remarkably enlightened attitude toward Custer's fatal engagement. The fact must not be overlooked that the *Pilot* highly disapproved of the government's dealings with the Sioux, consequently the disaster provided an occasion for severe criticism. It cited a record of broken treaties, unpaid congressional grants, and frauds perpetrated against the Indians. The article called particular attention to the Sioux refusal to sell the Black Hills after Grant's appointed commissioners met the Sioux chiefs at the Red Cloud Agency in 1875. The high price asked of the commissions was refused.⁸

They [Sioux] bitterly complained of the inroads and demoralization of the whites; and they asked for schools and a Catholic priest to teach them.⁹ Their requests were ignored, and their refusal to sell did not save them from invasion. . . . Thousands of armed adventurers flocked into their country, determined to hold the land by the right of the rifle. . . . The Sioux have grimly defended their own, though they have done it with the tomahawk and scalpel knife.

The striking feature of the editorial, however, was its strong emphasis on the fairness of the fight and its forceful insistence on the injustice of the demand for revenge. Expressing its sorrow over the loss of Custer, "a bold, free-handed, romantic, daredevil, young leader," who loved fighting for its own sake, it nevertheless insisted:

The Sioux warriors did not murder Custer and his soldiers. They met him in fair fight, out-generalled him, and cut him to pieces. He tried to do the same to them. . . . The story of the terrible affair is elsewhere told. No one can read it without seeing that Custer's bravery out ran his

⁸ Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States*, New York, 1926, III, 398-399.

⁹ "And the *Chicago Times*, in commenting upon the insistent petition of Chief Red Cloud of the Sioux for Catholic teachers and schools, queried: "If the Indian asks for this kind of spiritual meat, why give him a stone?" Quoted in Peter J. Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy 1870-1884*, Washington, D. C., 1953, 150, 209. "The administration of Indian affairs was clearly dominated by Protestants whose churches were constantly urging positive action against Catholic Indians"; Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, 35.

caution. It was a fair fight—and the Indians won. There was no ambush—no trickery. . . . In no civilized war has there been a fairer fight, Custer went in with his eyes open, and met the bloody result of recklessness. There is no justice in the cry for vengeance. There is far more need of a cry for fair play. If the death of Custer bring about an honest consideration of the Indian's rights, the blood of the brave soldiers has not been spilled in vain.

The liberal attitude of the *Pilot* did not blind it to the fact that public reaction to what was immediately called a "massacre"¹⁰ would preclude for a time a calm consideration of the Indian problem. As the editorial put it:

The death of the most dashing officer of the Army—the Murat of our service—will prevent for a time the righteous consideration of this question. The border cry of vengeance is heard already, and it is probable that an attempt will be made to extirpate the entire Sioux. But the day will come when these things will cry to Heaven against the United States.¹¹

The July 22 issue of the *Pilot* carried its last reference to Custer. A full column was dedicated to a poem written in heroic terms by Joseph I. C. Clark entitled "Custer's Last Charge." This issue also included an article by a *Chicago Tribune* reporter concerning the reminiscences of three officers who had served under Custer. The comments concerning Custer's character and Civil War record by Colonel Birge, Major Deane, and Captain Ballard were extremely favorable. Another item, attacking Grant, was taken from the *Louisville Courier Journal* and alluding to Custer, it ended with the words, "Down with his assassins—the radical administration."

The *Catholic Universe Bulletin* of Cleveland, the *Catholic Mirror* of Baltimore, and the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati gave less

¹⁰ "Not unfairly called this, since no quarter was given and since the bodies of the slain, except Custer's which was spared, were most atrociously beheaded, and otherwise mutilated." Oberholtzer, 415. Colonel Graham, an authority on Custeriana, refutes the above statement. He claims it has been inaccurately termed, "Warfare, however it be savage, is not massacre when the conquered go to their death with arms in their hands." He states further concerning mutilation, "...contrary to general belief there was no universal mutilation of the bodies of the slain, except those few of Reno's command who fell close to the village and were subjected to the indignities by the squaws and children. . . . But on Custer's field. . . save for scalping, the invariable custom of Indian warfare, there was comparatively little mutilation of the soldier dead." Colonel W. A. Graham, *The Story of the Little Big Horn*, New York, 1926, 106-107.

¹¹ *Boston Pilot*, July 15, 1876, of which John Boyle O'Reilly was editor from 1870, and from April 15, 1876, co-proprietor with Archbishop John J. Williams, replacing Patrick Donahoe. O'Reilly exerted a wide influence through this paper, becoming famous for his liberal Catholic attitude. Sister Mary Alphonsine Frawley, *Patrick Donahoe*, Washington, 1946, 254.

attention to the political implications of the disaster at the Little Big Horn. The *Universe Bulletin* carried only one story describing Sitting Bull, a few Indian customs, and the appearance of an Indian war camp.¹² The *Mirror* took the opportunity to attack the Republican administration's radical reconstruction policy by merely reprinting an article taken from the *Irish Democrat*. Attributing the defeat and death of "gallant" Custer to the uneven distribution of the military forces, it compared, for example, "the 269 men [*sic*] with Custer to the 7,052 men" still to be found stationed in the South. The *Mirror* agreed with the *Irish Democrat* which concluded, "If Democratic orators be wise they would repeat these figures until every voter knows them by heart."¹³ The *Telegraph* printed only two brief articles on the battle as such. The account, as released by the Helena correspondent, was published in its issue dated July 13. The other mention of the event was a report discrediting the rumor that General Crook's command had also been slaughtered.¹⁴

Somewhat more elaborate was the first account to be found in the *Connecticut Catholic*, which reported that a battle had taken place between United States troops and the Indians. The paper, although lacking details, was ready to pass editorial judgments. It definitely felt that "our soldiers did not come out of the fight very much first best," and charged that if the troops had been severely repulsed the blame would rest with Grant. Custer had given offense to President Grant by becoming involved in the impeachment pending against Secretary of War William Belknap, who had resigned under fire. By the president's order Custer was removed from command, and to his great humiliation, was forbidden to accompany the expedition in any capacity whatever. The order was rescinded through the efforts of General Terry, and, at the last minute, he was allowed to accompany the expedition, but only as commander of the Seventh Cavalry.¹⁵ In the light of this the *Connecticut* paper commented:

The day that Grant to gratify the spite of himself and his corrupt associates, against a brave officer who told the truth about them removed General Custer he struck a deadly blow at the efficiency of the then pending Indian expedition; and the army and the nation will be fortunate if both do not yet have to suffer severely for the particular act of the patron and protector of the "Ring" thieves.

¹² July 22, 1876.

¹³ July 29, 1876.

¹⁴ August 3, 1876.

¹⁵ July 8, 1876. Graham, *Story of the Little Big Horn*, 8-9.

A final editorial reference was made in connection with Catholic missionary work. In mentioning that the continuance of Catholic missionaries among them would have resulted in a peaceful Sioux nation, the *Connecticut Catholic* merely touched on a theme that was elaborated by its neighbor, the New York *Freeman's Journal*.¹⁶

The New York paper reflected the forceful, even if at times over-zealous, attitude of its editor, James A. McMaster. McMaster, a convert to Catholicism, had long been critical of the government's treatment of the Indians.¹⁷ The editorial theme throughout 1876 harped on Grant's wicked "Methodist War" on the Indians, as McMaster recounted the influence of the Methodist ministers in shaping the Indian policy of 1870 which had had such disastrous results for Catholic Indians.¹⁸ The blame for the Indian's mistreatment was placed upon both parties; however, the Democratic administration to McMaster's mind had not been quite so bad. It was true, only to a certain extent, that the Democrats' appointed agents had enriched themselves by defrauding the Indians, but the crowning wrong was accomplished through Grant and what was called more generally his "Quaker Policy." As McMaster stated it:

Then was inaugurated one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of crimes of Grant's bad administration. . . . The Methodist plan, which they, cunningly called *Quaker*, was to apportion the Indians as "dumb, driven cattle," among ever so many religious denominations.

The *Freeman's Journal* of July 15, 1876, had carried the detailed account of the Custer destruction, and one week later in an editorial denouncing Grant's policy, McMaster found occasion to mention the dead leader:

You have 'reserved' tens of thousands of them [Indians] for your Methodists and others, Preachers who have been linked in with you. Post-traders selling improved firearms, at an exorbitant price, to the Indians—who have used them against Custer and his squadron, and will use them again. The practical result of the cruel massacre of Custer and his command, should be immediate revoking of the Grant-Methodist swindle—called the 'Quaker' plan, and remitting the entire Indian management to the War Department.¹⁹

¹⁶ The *Connecticut Catholic*, August 19, 1876, quoting *The Columbian*, "If the United States Government had left the Indians free to be instructed in the only religion that ever converted any of them to Christianity, the whole army of the plains would now be a reminiscence of the past."

¹⁷ Rahill, *Catholic Indian Missions*, 172.

¹⁸ Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, *James Alphonsus McMaster*, Washington, 1949, 205.

¹⁹ July 22, 1876.

McMaster, in spite of his crusading zeal, was very cool toward the Catholic Indian Bureau which had been established under Charles Ewing and Father Jean-Baptiste A. Brouillet.²⁰ In indicting the Peace Policy and its operations, the New York editor had also condemned the Catholic bureau for co-operating with the federal Indian Office. Ewing and Brouillet felt that editorials, such as the one just mentioned, would create open hostility to such extent that the Church might be deprived of everything.²¹ The *Freeman's Journal* continued to hammer at the Republican administration, but the Custer incident was not again used editorially.²²

A rather different approach to the "massacre" was carried by both the *Brooklyn Catholic Review* and the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph*. Grant's administration and Catholic missionaries faded into the background, while the emphasis was centered upon one Captain Myles Keogh. His life had been a record of adventures. Born in County Carlow in Ireland, Keogh at the age of twenty had joined General Louis Christofano de Lamoricière, who had taken command of the papal army, and followed him to Italy. Keogh, for gallantry displayed, was decorated by Pope Pius IX with the medal *Pro Petri Sede*. In 1862 he resigned his command in the Pontifical Zouaves and embarked for the United States, where he joined the Union Army. A few months after the demobilization of the Union forces in 1866, Keogh was mustered out and promoted to "Captain, Seventh Cavalry with brevets of Major for 'Gettysburg' and Lt. Colonel for the War."²³ It is not surprising that at least two Catholic papers, spotting this Irish name, should have emphasized it, since their readers would be predominantly Irish.

The case of Keogh, as illustrated by the *Catholic Telegraph*, was useful as an answer to anti-Catholic sentiments:

His grave in the distant West, where he lies with his Agnus Dei resting upon his bosom, awaiting the resurrection, will tell the bigots of this country that a Catholic never falters in his duty to the government, no matter what sacrifice it may cost or what dangers may confront him. Peace

²⁰ McMaster's advice to transfer the entire Indian management to the War Department was in direct opposition to official opinion as expressed by the Catholic Bureau, "but since the *Freeman's Journal* was not a diocesan organ, it was subject to no direct episcopal supervision," Priest, 24; Rahill, 220.

²¹ Rahill, 200.

²² In an issue dated August 5, 1876, the *Freeman's Journal* printed an Indian's version of the fight along with a story about Captain Myles Keogh's presentiment of death which led him to draw up a will.

²³ Edward S. Luce, *Keogh, Comanche and Custer*, (n.p.: privately printed), 1939, has the story of Keogh.

to the soul of the gallant Papal Zouave and faithful soldier of the United States.²⁴

This paper's article included some background on Keogh which, it may be presumed, was hastily gathered.²⁵ The *Catholic Review*, while not as fulsome, did report, "Before he had won distinction in American service he gained it in fighting for the Pope against Italian red men."²⁶ Both journals made much of the fact that Keogh had not been mutilated. The *Review* stressed the theory that the Indians, seeing an "Agnus Dei" around his neck, remembered their friend, Father Pierre de Smet, S.J., famous Sioux missionary; while the *Telegraph* based the supposition on a current rumor that Sitting Bull had been baptized a Catholic.²⁷ Investigations since the time of the battle have not mentioned these reasons, but have stressed the fact that Keogh was well known to the Indians and respected by them for his bravery.²⁸ A recent student of the episode suggests that what was called in so many accounts his "Agnus Dei," was actually his papal medal which he wore in a leather case around his neck. This would have been readily mistaken by the Indians as a charm for which they would have superstitious regard.²⁹

A unique feature of the *Telegraph's* editorial comment was a lyric of praise for Keogh's patriotism and faith. "To his adopted country he has been as true and as loyal as he was to his faith. He was the soul of honor, as fair a specimen of Christian chivalry as ever entered battle." It went on to tell of a poor Catholic servant girl calling at the cathedral in Cincinnati to have Masses said for

²⁴ *Catholic Telegraph*, July 20, 1876.

²⁵ It incorrectly informed the readers that during the Civil War Keogh had served on the staff of General Steadman in place of the staffs of Generals Buford and Stoneman. Frederick Whittaker, *General George A. Custer*, New York, 1876, 598.

²⁶ *Catholic Review*, Brooklyn, July 29, 1876.

²⁷ Jacker, *loc. cit.*, 739. The *Review* included an even more improbable story that Sitting Bull was not only a student of French but of Napoleonic tactics which he used against the army.

²⁸ Julia B. McGillicuddy, *McGillicuddy, Agent*, Stanford, 1941, 78.

²⁹ Luce, *Keogh*, 62-63, while maintaining that Keogh was wearing the papal medal, presents a hypothesis based on the fact that it carried the symbol which should be on a waxen *Agnus Dei*, "As the Indians were stripping the body, they came upon a medal in a leather case attached to a cord around his neck. It was his Medaglia di Pro Petri Sede... What they made of it we do not know. Perhaps they thought it was the white man's idea of mountain sheep, for they were in the land of the big horns. This great chief of the white men had evidently gone high up among the cold crags to importune the Great Spirit for guidance, as every warrior is bound to do before battle, and had received this medicine."

Keogh's soul. As a domestic in the house of an army officer colleague of his, she had admired Keogh from afar, and could, as the editorial put it, "testify with tears to the modest, humble piety, of this fearless sabreur." There was not much of prophecy in the further comment, "The memory of such a Catholic cannot perish," for Keogh was later reported buried with a Protestant Episcopal ceremony and the Catholic press was silent.³⁰

This sampling of press opinion, which included the most influential Catholic journals in the United States, would indicate that there was no single Catholic reaction to the Custer episode. Yet there was an area of agreement in the general use of the occasion by these papers to attack Grant's administration. As journals addressing themselves mostly to Irish Catholics, it may have been an instinctive reaction. History, however, has borne out the justice of the views of Catholic editors concerning the hostility of Grant's peace policy to their Church. Particularly acute, in this regard, were John Boyle O'Reilly and McMaster, and certainly in the light of subsequent developments, the *Boston Pilot's* editorial wisdom was remarkable.

This brief contribution to Custeriana is only a small footnote in comparison to the publication of over 600 items on that single historical event.³¹ It might, nonetheless, indicate an area of possible future study involving public opinion on the battle of the Little Big Horn, and of the consequent influence of such feelings in shaping the later American Indian policy.

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³⁰ *Morning News*, Auburn, New York, October 26, 1877, quoted in Luce, 118-119.

³¹ Colonel W. A. Graham, *The Custer Myth*, Harrisburg, 1953. This source book of Custeriana and fully annotated bibliography does not include the latest addition to the field, viz., Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1955. The abundance of literature on the question is such that divergent speculations are merely being added to the little known and debated facts.

Contemporary English Catholics and the Policies of James II.

As every proverbial English schoolboy knows, whether in Macaulay's time or since, the attempt of James II to promote the cause of Catholicism in the British Isles was a complete failure. Much less clearly understood is the reaction of the English Catholic clergy and laity to the King's efforts. It is to a consideration of the latter that this paper is directed.

A brief perusal of the more prominent events in the career of this ill-fated monarch is required to place the problem in perspective. James Stuart was converted to Catholicism in middle age, an event which provoked a determined effort to exclude him from succession to the throne. The endeavor barely failed and in 1685 James, heretofore Duke of York, succeeded his brother Charles II as King of England. Headstrong, impetuous, politically inept, embittered by a decade of persecution, accusation, and calumny and, like all the Stuarts, convinced that kings ruled by divine right, James pursued a political and religious policy that soon cost him his throne.

Motivated perhaps by a love of religious toleration as a principle but more likely by a desire eventually to turn toleration into Catholic supremacy¹ the King: 1. Repealed the Test Act of 1673 which had, in effect, barred Catholics from holding public office; 2. Began to build a standing army, officered by Catholics, though Catholics were forbidden to undertake military service; 3. Prorogued parliament and accepted subsidies from his powerful and hated Catholic cousin, Louis XIV of France; 4. Forced the English universities, in violation of existing law, to admit Catholics to fellowships and degrees; 5. Promulgated the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 and 1688 which granted religious toleration to all; 6. Imprisoned several Anglican bishops for refusing to read the Second Declaration in their churches; and 7. Reactivated the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, whose activities had been instrumental in provoking the civil war of the 1640's, to govern the English Church. These measures were undertaken in a predominantly

¹ Two authorities of such disparate views as Father John Lingard and the skeptical philosopher David Hume concur in this judgment; John Lingard, *History of England*, Edinburgh, 1902, X, 127; David Hume, *History of England*, New York, 1879, VI, 353.

Protestant country where fear and hatred of Catholicism was so ingrained that the grotesque "Popish Plot" could secure wide credence. They drove almost all James' Protestant supporters into opposition to him, to a final result in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

The attitudes adopted by European, and particularly English, Catholics towards these ill-considered efforts to aid the Roman Church form an interesting study of the ways in which conflicting ambition, hope, zeal, and prudence can color the minds and deeds of men.

The condition of English Catholicism in the 1680's was forlorn. From the time of Elizabeth I the ranks of Catholics had dwindled steadily under persecution until they now numbered a bare ten per cent of the population.² Such incidents as the missionary activities and "plots" of the Jesuits in the reign of Elizabeth, the Gunpowder Plot of 1603, and the "Popish Plot" of 1676, had brought discredit and persecution to nearly all English Catholics. The close ties of Charles II with the national enemy, France, had increased popular suspicion of and disdain for "papists." Misfortune had been their lot in other ways as well. Most of them had sided with the Royalists in the civil war of 1641-1649. When Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 they hoped for some reward, but received none. The vicissitudes of the seventeenth century had taken their toll in the ranks of the clergy too. Proscribed, hunted, and lacking proper ecclesiastical supervision, the morale and *esprit de corps* of the English Catholic clergy had suffered badly.³ Thus by the 1680's the English Catholics were decimated, disunited, persecuted, dispirited, and politically unrepresented.

To them the accession of James II seemed a glorious event, a sweet deliverance from a century and a quarter of subjection. It was immediately followed by an outburst of Catholic activity of every sort. A considerable number of Catholics, now free to go where they liked, flocked to court to seek offices and sinecures.⁴ Others

² This is the estimate of Brian Magee whose careful study *The English Recusants*, London, 1938, sheds much light upon the plight of seventeenth century English Catholicism; cf. especially 126-149, 162-164, 169-171, 207.

³ W. Maziere Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland*, London, 1877, 125.

⁴ A case in point was that of William Blundell, the descendant of an old Catholic family who had lived near Liverpool for centuries. Blundell tried to secure a civil appointment by applying to Father John Warner, James' Jesuit confessor; Margaret Blundell, ed., *Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell to His Friends 1620-1698*, London, 1933, 243, 249-250.

packed the courtroom where Titus Oates was being tried for the perjuries which had sent several innocent Catholics to their deaths during the "Popish Plot" craze.⁵ Many attended the Masses which the King ordered celebrated publicly in a newly opened chapel in Whitehall.⁶ At Windsor, where the King held the familiar ceremony of touching for scrofula, he dismissed his Protestant chaplains and was attended by priests who conducted the service in Latin.⁷ Several prominent Catholics accepted patents of nobility; others became Privy Councillors or judges; and a considerable number accepted posts as justices of the peace and city commissioners.⁸

The clergy in particular grew active and vocal. Everywhere the Catholic nobility either brought their chaplains and domestic confessors out of hiding or welcomed them back from exile. Masses, Sunday preachings, festivals, catechetical instructions, baptisms of Nonconformist converts, even public disputations with Protestants, were widely held before large congregations.⁹ A confirmation ceremony was conducted in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford; Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated; Count Ferdinand d'Adda, the papal nuncio, was received by the King in a public audience; and monks and nuns regularly appeared in public in their habits.¹⁰ Numerous schools, churches, and monasteries were opened by religious orders, secular clergy, and Catholic nobles. The Carmelites established a community house at Bargeyard¹¹ and the Franciscan

⁵ William Bray, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, London, 1894, 1900, II, 231, hereinafter cited as Evelyn, *Diary*. Oates and the other scoundrels who had been key figures in the "Popish Plot" were punished ferociously in James' reign. This was not sheer vindictiveness on the part of the Government, however, for a Catholic who assassinated one of the perjurers (Dangerfield) was executed for his deed three weeks later; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs from 1678 to 1714*, Oxford, 1857, I, 351, 354-355.

⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 222; Barillon to Louis XIV, March 1, 1685, *Correspondence Between Louis XIV and M. Barillon on English Affairs from December, 1684 to December, 1685*, in appendix of Charles James Fox, *A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second*, London, 1808.

⁷ Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 378.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 369-443.

⁹ Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, London, 1879, V, 149, 151, 153; J. G. Muddiman, *The Bloody Assizes*, London, 1929, 186.

¹⁰ Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 405-409, 430, 439; Rev. Henry Fleming to Sir Daniel Fleming, July 29, 1688, in John Richard Magrath, ed., *The Flemings in Oxford 1650-1700, Being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men 1650-1700*, Oxford, 1913, II, 220 and footnote 220; Andrew Clark, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*, Oxford, 1894, II, 266.

¹¹ Ethelred L. Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England*, New York, 1898, 175.

friars built one at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹² The Benedictines established a royal monastery at St. James' Palace, a convent at St. John's, Clerkenwell, and several other communities. Chapels were opened in several parts of London, in the universities, and by such members of the nobility as the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Berkeley. The Jesuits were particularly active in these endeavors, setting up chapels and schools at Wigan, Durham, Newcastle, Lincoln, Norwich, and Pontefract, as well as two colleges in London, one at the Royal Hospital of the Savoy and the other near the Bavarian Embassy on Fenchurch Street. The Order even found time to take over from the secular clergy chapels at Holywell and on Lime Street, London.¹³ All of these institutions were conducted in an ostentatious fashion which Protestants found infuriating.¹⁴

All this religious activity had its literary counterpart. A veritable flood of pamphlets, pictures, and books flowed from hastily established Catholic presses. One of the most prolific of these was operated in London by Henry Hills, newly licensed "printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."¹⁵ Another was located in the lodgings of Obadiah Walker, a Catholic priest whom James had forced University College, Oxford, to admit to a fellowship. Walker published several books "savouring of popery" and, without securing the permission of the vice-Chancellor, gave them out to Oxford booksellers.¹⁶

The effectiveness of all this preaching and pamphleteering is difficult to estimate. Henry Foley credits the Jesuits with securing several hundred converts during James' reign.¹⁷ Among contemporaries, conversions appeared to Reresby in 1687 to be "numerous",¹⁸ while another observer lamented in 1685 that so many "deceitfull and indifferent" persons had become Catholic in order to seek advancement under a Catholic king.¹⁹ On the other hand,

¹² Muddiman, *Bloody Assizes*, 186.

¹³ *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, London, 1925, III, 105. In the latter instance they brought charges of Jansenism against the incumbent clerical staff; Taunton, *Jesuits in England*, 445-456.

¹⁴ For a much fuller description of these places and their activities cf. Foley, *Jesuit Records*, V, 266, 268; John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., "A Jesuit 'Free School' in London 1688," *The Month*, September, 1916, 264-267.

¹⁵ Thomas Babington Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James II*, Philadelphia, 1861, II, 168; Andrew Browning, ed., *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, Glasgow, 1936, 425.

¹⁶ Rev. Henry Fleming to Sir Daniel Fleming, March 14, 1687, *Flemings in Oxford*, 190-201 and footnote 191; cf. also 142-143, (footnote).

¹⁷ Foley, V, 267, 334. Cf. also "B.N.," *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History*, New York, 1879, II, 94.

¹⁸ Reresby, *Memoirs*, 452.

¹⁹ Walter MacLeod, ed., *Journal of the Honorable John Erskine of Carnock 1683-1687*, Edinburgh, 1893, 149.

the Anglican Bishop Burnet described conversions as "few"²⁰ and the Earl of Perth, Royal Chancellor of Scotland, bewailed the almost total absence of conversions in that country.²¹ Whatever the number of converts, the most illustrious of them was the poet John Dryden. Then England's first man of letters, Dryden was at once pressed into service to defend Catholic doctrine. His best known apologetic work was the famous poem *The Hind and the Panther*.

Objectively, all this clerical enthusiasm and missionary activity was worthy enough, but it violated the law of the land and led Protestants to exaggerate Catholic numbers and purposes even more wildly than before. Significantly, most of these newly erected chapels and schools, as well as the houses of some Catholics, were set upon by mobs and razed in November and December, 1688.²²

English Catholicism quickly formed two schools of thought with regard to the religious policies of James II and the missionary efforts to the clergy. One group, small in number but conspicuous in the public eye since it was composed of court nobles, clergymen, and politicians, urged the King to act quickly and energetically to strike all the fetters off Catholicism. All of these persons gravely underestimated the anti-Catholic temper of the country and by their excessive zeal and unwise personal conduct made trouble for the King everywhere. They gave James consistently bad advice and helped persuade him to flee the country in 1688—a course which ruined whatever chance he might have had to retain his throne. The more prominent of these "extremists" will be considered individually.

One such was James Drummond, Fourth Earl of Perth. Perth was Chancellor and First Commissioner of the Treasury in Scotland, a land even more determinedly Protestant than England. Though he had frequently expressed disapproval of some Catholic doctrines before 1685,²³ with the accession of James II he became a convert to Catholicism. For three years Perth and his brother Lord Melfort, the Secretary of State, were the rulers of Scotland. They at once set up a private chapel for themselves, obtained churches for the secular and regular clergy, imported a half dozen German mis-

²⁰ Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, London, 1724, II, 383-385.

²¹ Earl of Perth to Cardinal Howard, February 3, 1688, in *Calendar of Stuart Papers, Publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, London, 1902, I, 31. Luttrell lists some of the more prominent converts. The number is small; Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 369, 391, 398-401, 446, 449.

²² Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 477, 483, 486, 488.

²³ A. H. Millar, ed., *Glamis Book of Record, 1684-1689*, Edinburgh, 1890, 163-164.

sionaries into Scotland, tried to secure the repeal of the penal laws against Catholics, and made plans to establish a Jesuit college in the residence of the former Chancellors. The chief result of these enterprises was to provoke an Edinburgh mob to wreck Perth's chapel and to throw mud upon Chancellor Perth as he emerged from it.²⁴

Another of James' advisers who served his master badly was Roger Palmer, the hot tempered, flashy, and pompous Earl of Castlemaine. In 1686 Castlemaine was appointed Ambassador to the Papacy. His instructions were to try to get cardinal's hats for Rinaldo d' Este, the Queen's uncle, and for Father Edward Petre, the King's trusted adviser and confidante, and to attempt to effect a reconciliation between the Pope and Louis XIV.²⁵ In Rome Castlemaine indulged his penchant for vulgar display, scandalized the austere Innocent XI by presenting his profligate wife at the Papal court,²⁶ ostentatiously cultivated those English and French Jesuits at the moment apparently estranged from the Papacy, and persisted so indiscreetly in his demands on behalf of Petre and d' Este that Innocent at length demanded that James recall his ambassador and apologize for his conduct. The King did apologize for Castlemaine but the whole fiasco was ill-received in England, particularly by Catholics who were shocked by the envoy's ill treatment of the Pope.²⁷

Two less prominent royal advisers who helped make the King's cross heavy were Sir Roger Strickland and the Marquess of Albeville. Strickland, made an admiral by James, unwisely dismissed the Protestant chaplains from his ship and had Mass said, thereby provoking a near mutiny.²⁸ Albeville, the Ambassador to Holland, spent most of his time trying to get Bishop Burnet extradited to

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 163-164; Perth to Cardinal Howard, February 3, 1686, in *Stuart Papers*, I, 30; James Grant, ed., *Seafield Correspondence, 1685-1708*, Edinburgh, 1912, 16.

²⁵ At this time Louis XIV was engaged in a struggle with the Papacy that had grown out of his attempts to dominate completely the Church within his own dominions. Naturally, the Pope was hostile to Louis. He was likewise suspicious of James II and of the English and French Jesuits, both because they seemed so closely allied with Louis and because he was unconvinced that their impetuous zeal was likely to benefit the Catholic Church in England; G. M. Trevelyan, *The English Revolution, 1688-1689*, London, 1938, 369; F. C. Turner, *James II*, New York, 1948, 325.

²⁶ Lady Castlemaine was the former Duchess of Cleveland, notorious as the mistress of Charles II and others.

²⁷ Turner, *ibid.*, 326; Lingard, *History of England*, X, 206-207, 259; Macaulay, *History of England*, II, 63, 190-193; Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, St. Louis, 1940, XXXII, 505.

²⁸ Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 483.

England, presumably to gratify James. So singlemindedly did he pursue Burnet that one may reasonably suspect that the Dutch purposely kept him on the bishop's trail in order to prevent him from acquiring knowledge of their preparations for the invasion of England.²⁹

Burnet himself thought that Barillon, the French Ambassador, and Queen Mary Beatrice were more responsible than any others for the bent of royal policy and, therefore, for the ultimate downfall of the whole regime,³⁰ but in this he seems clearly mistaken. Barillon was such a close friend of the King that the jealousy of other envoys was aroused, and he naturally encouraged James to keep close to France,³¹ but in only one instance (that the author was able to discover) is there evidence that his influence upon James was harmful. In 1688 he advised the distraught monarch to flee England, maintaining that the royal departure would plunge the country into chaos and anarchy and force Englishmen to beseech their sovereign to return.³² There is equally little reason to view the Queen as playing Svengali to James' Trilby. Mary Beatrice was a proud woman, strongly influenced by priests, and vigilant to further the interests of her religion. Her published correspondence, however, could scarcely be more innocuous. It consists almost exclusively of letters to cardinals, abbesses, and prelates thanking them for prayers or favors, asking other favors, recommending persons to them, and so on. Upon only two occasions can it be said that her activities possessed noteworthy political importance. She exercised persistent pressure on Rome to have her uncle Rinaldo d' Este made a cardinal,³³ and she joined Barillon in imploring James to flee England in 1688.³⁴ In the first case she appears to have been motivated about equally by nepotism and by the belief that she was aiding the Church, and in the latter she was clearly the devoted wife worrying about the physical safety of her husband.

The most influential of James' counsellors and, therefore, the individuals most responsible for his downfall, were the Jesuit

²⁹ Muddiman, *Bloody Assizes*, 186. Albeville's numerous memorials to the Dutch Government on the subject of Burnet are mentioned by Luttrell, *Brief Relations*, I, 426-427. Though the Ambassador spent the year 1688 in Holland he apparently knew nothing of the projected invasion.

³⁰ Burnet, II, 322, 456.

³¹ Ruth Clark, *Sir William Trumbull in Paris, 1685-1686*, Cambridge, 1938, 6; Leopold von Ranke, *History of England*, Oxford, 1944, IV, 218, 226.

³² Hume, *History of England*, VI, 347.

³³ For letters from the Queen to Castlemaine, the Pope, and Cardinals Howard and Cibo on Rinaldo's behalf, cf. *Stuart Papers*, I, 12-17. For the remainder of her correspondence cf. *ibid.*, I, 12-21.

³⁴ Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 532.

Father Petre; Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland; and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, the stormy, ill-tempered commander of the Irish army.³⁵ Father Petre, the King's most trusted adviser, was a man of good family and considerable natural intelligence who had gained the royal confidence by overseeing the education of some of James' natural children.³⁶ In character and personality he was much like his royal master—honest and ardent to improve the fortunes of his religion, but shortsighted, easily duped, and oblivious to the strength of the forces opposing him. He was, moreover, personally ambitious. More than any other man, Petre urged James to act boldly and directly to secure legal equality, religious freedom, and political advancement for English Catholics.³⁷ Petre secured the dismissal of the Franciscan Father Mansuete as royal confessor and his replacement by the Jesuit Father Warner because he disapproved of the moderate counsels of Mansuete.³⁸ He was instrumental in the foolhardy attempt to maintain Catholic converts in the universities.³⁹ He rashly accepted appointment to the Privy Council, apparently taking no thought of the effect this would have upon Protestant opinion—though it was notorious that Jesuits were regarded by most Protestant Englishmen as master criminals of superhuman cunning and villainy. Petre played a leading role in the ouster of the Earl of Rochester, the King's brother-in-law, as Treasurer. He also urged James to repeal the Test Act;⁴⁰ he may have been responsible for the order to the bishops to read the Declaration of Indulgence in their churches;⁴¹ and in 1688 he counselled James to call upon Louis XIV for aid in withstanding the threatened Dutch invasion.

Petre was, however, in many ways merely the tool of a much subtler man, the Earl of Sunderland. The latter was an ambitious

³⁵ Tyrconnel's activities in Ireland and the reaction of the Irish to the religious innovations of James II are a tale in themselves and will be dealt with by this writer in a separate article at a later time.

³⁶ Thomas Sheridan, *Historical Narrative of the Reign of James II*, in *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, VI, 3.

³⁷ Charles Butler, *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics Since the Reformation*, London, 1822, III, 119.

³⁸ Turner, *James II*, 305–306; Lingard, X, 257.

³⁹ Turner, *ibid.*, 340.

⁴⁰ Lingard, X, 224. The Test Act, passed during the reign of Charles II, required that all appointees to a civil or military office subscribe to an oath or "test" which was so worded that no practicing Catholic could subscribe to it. The appointee was likewise expected to receive the sacrament in the Anglican Church within three months of assuming office.

⁴¹ This is the assertion of Burnet, who was neither well disposed towards Petre nor always reliable in what he included in his *History of My Own Times*, II, 464–465.

and venal politician whose many shifts of allegiance have few counterparts in English history. This lesser Talleyrand had voted for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne in 1679. When this effort failed, however, he had assiduously cultivated James and, by sycophancy and intrigue, had even worked his way into the Government. Though he had previously shown little attachment to any religion, during James' reign Sunderland feigned conversion to Catholicism in order more effectively to pursue his secular career.⁴² Sunderland ingratiated himself with the guileless Petre⁴³ and, knowing that religion bulked largest in the minds of both the priest and the King, he at once began to advocate the adoption of strong measures to advance Catholicism. For the politician the situation was ideal. Petre, as a Jesuit, was fiercely detested by all Protestants. As a member of the Council he was a prominent public figure. Thus Sunderland could advocate any measure welcome to the ears of Petre or the King, certain that if it provoked a public uproar the blame would attach to the priest rather than to himself.

Shortly after James' accession Sunderland secured the royal consent to establish a secret board of prominent Catholics to watch over Catholic interests. With the exception of the moderate Catholic Lords Bellasis, Arundel, and Powis, this group uniformly pushed for bolder measures to advance the Catholic cause. Sunderland was even more vigilant to seek his personal fortune. Early in James' reign he, Petre, Tyrconnel (then Richard Talbot), and Henry Jermyn (later Lord Dover) made an agreement to aid one another to achieve their respective ambitions.⁴⁴ Sunderland later used Petre to help him secure the dismissal of Rochester as Treasurer, a position to which Sunderland succeeded, much to his own financial advantage.⁴⁵ In 1688 his true character was revealed. Sensing that

⁴² Sheridan, *Stuart Papers*, VI, 3. It was typical of the man that in 1689 Sunderland should deny ever having been a Catholic; *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London, 1871, 16.

⁴³ Persons of such dissimilar views as Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 382; Foley, *Jesuit Records*, V, 275; Hilaire Belloc, *James the Second*, Philadelphia, 1928, 164; and J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second*, London, 1816, II, 75-77, agree that Petre was a shield for Sunderland. Clarke wrote an "official" biography of James II from the personal and state papers of the Stuarts. For this work George III gave him the title "Historiographer to the King." He always presents James II in the best possible light.

⁴⁴ Sunderland was to become Treasurer; Talbot, Governor of Ireland; Jermyn, a peer and a captain of horse-guards; and Petre, a cardinal. Clarke, *James II*, II, 77.

⁴⁵ Macaulay, II, 55.

James was going too far, Sunderland advised him not to prosecute the recalcitrant bishops.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in order to insure his own position under a possible new regime, he had begun a treasonable correspondence with William of Orange.⁴⁷

The type of advice these "extremists" regularly gave the King may be judged from the admonitions addressed to him in 1685 by Tyrconnel, Castlemaine, Dover and Albeville. In Macaulay's words:

They told their master that he owed it to his religion and to the dignity of the crown to stand firm against the outcry of heretical demagogues, and to let parliament see from the first that he would be master in spite of opposition, and that the only effect of opposition would be to make him a hard master.⁴⁸

The motives of these parties were various. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, were naturally interested primarily in taking advantage of a Catholic reign to spread their religion in a land which was, in their eyes, teeming with heretics. Barillon and the other envoys of France sincerely desired to aid the Catholic cause but were more concerned to keep England internally disunited and in the political van of France. Sunderland and the politicians were exercised chiefly to pour welcome advice into the royal ear in hope of securing favors for themselves.

The only common denominator among all these "extremists" was lack of political sagacity. All of them lived in an aura of fear, both for the welfare of their religion and for their personal safety. Due to the state of the King's health all of them were possessed by a strong sense of urgency, of time running out. In the period 1686-1688 James was in his fifties, growing senile, and without a Catholic heir. Though he was married to a youthful Catholic princess, it was commonly assumed that the royal couple would have no more children⁴⁹ and that James would be succeeded by Mary or Anne, his Protestant daughters by a previous marriage. Thus everyone expected his reign to be but a brief interlude in an otherwise unbroken Protestant succession. From this assumption his advisers concluded that they must act swiftly and decisively to liberate Catholics from their legal bonds and to establish the Church securely before the King went to his grave. Some of them spent much

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 253.

⁴⁷ Burnet, II, 498.

⁴⁸ Macaulay, II, 46.

⁴⁹ James had always lived the life of a libertine and by this time was probably suffering from paresis; Turner, *James II*, 234. Queen Mary Beatrice had given birth to four children before 1688 but all had died.

time weaving unlikely schemes to safeguard themselves and their creed in England. James was repeatedly urged by some to will his kingdom to Louis XIV, while others favored Tyrconnel's plan to separate Ireland from England and place it under French rule at James' death.⁵⁰ Various proposals were offered for changing the succession to the throne.⁵¹ A French agent, Bonrepaus, produced the most novel suggestion: that the Princess Anne, second in line for the throne, and her husband be converted to Catholicism⁵²—though he did not explain how this was to be achieved. The chimerical character of these projects testifies to the sense of desperation in the hearts of their authors.

The great majority of the English Catholics, however, shared none of these illusions or ambitions. As noted before, decades of persecution had left them bowed, timorous, and keenly aware of both the strength of Protestantism and the vigor of its animosity towards all things Catholic. Though they valued their religion as highly as did the court zealots (and had proved this by remaining Catholic) they had long since abandoned hope of converting England. By 1685 they wanted little save to be left alone. Like the "extremists" they expected the days of James II to be short. They hoped for a mild, peaceful reign so that whatever Protestant ruler followed James would not be unkindly disposed towards them. They would have been satisfied if James had secured the repeal of the penal laws, granted them the right to worship privately in their houses, and persuaded parliament to guarantee that they would not be deprived of their property.⁵³ They hoped that such moderate concessions as these coupled with exemplary behavior by themselves would convince even the most suspicious of their Protestant countrymen that a Catholic could be a good citizen and worthy of better treatment by the nation.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Macaulay, II, 220-221.

⁵¹ One such scheme was to set up the bastard son of James and Arabella Churchill as a rival of William of Orange and Mary, the King's eldest daughter and first in line for the throne; *Ibid.*, II, 234.

⁵² Reresby, *Memoirs*, 404. Bonrepaus had no diplomatic title. His business in England was to try to persuade Huguenots who had fled from the persecution of Louis XIV to return to France; Ruth Clark, Trumbull, 69.

⁵³ Turner, *James II*, 351-352; von Ranke, IV, 227; Trevelyan, *English Revolution*, 59. Burnet records that in 1688 English lay Catholics, the Holy Roman Emperor, and even the Pope evinced satisfaction with the terms of a letter published by Fagel, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, setting forth William of Orange's religious recommendations for England. In it William advocated maintenance of the Test Act but repeal of the penal laws against Catholics and the grant of freedom to worship privately. Burnet, *op. cit.*, II, 458.

⁵⁴ Turner, *ibid.*, 351-352.

This overall estimate of the situation was shared by the English Cardinal Howard, then residing in Rome,⁵⁵ by Pope Innocent XI, by Adda, the nuncio,⁵⁶ and by the Jesuit General.⁵⁷ Only the English and French sections of the Society of Jesus disdained to try for mere toleration, preferring to gamble for the conversion of England.⁵⁸

Very soon after his accession to the throne the bulk of the English Catholics began to fear that the efforts of James II to aid their religion would more likely result in its destruction.⁵⁹ Each time the King embarked upon one of his precipitate courses Protestants feared for their liberties and Catholics trembled at the thought of the vengeance the Protestant majority might wreak on them when James was gone.⁶⁰ Thus, from the first, most English Catholics disliked and opposed royal measures which, superficially, appeared to be undertaken for their benefit.

When James outlined his plans for granting commissions in the army to Catholics, Lord Bellasis, Commissioner of the Treasury and a leader of the Catholic moderates, declared, "I date my ruin and that of my persuasion from this day."⁶¹ The prorogation of parliament in 1686 so alarmed many propertied Catholics that they considered selling their lands and seeking refuge abroad.⁶² While some Catholics accepted and even sought positions in the government, most of the gentry were reluctant to assume ostentatious positions, fearing that by so doing they would become instruments for

⁵⁵ Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 370-371; Cardinal Howard to Monsignor L. Innes, August 30, 1688, *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, XXV, 84-85. Neither the Pope nor Howard, his chief adviser on English affairs, believed that English Catholics were likely to gain power in the face of determined Protestant resistance. They sought, rather, to strengthen Catholicism internally, to correct the clerical laxity that had crept into the Church in England, and to make the Church sound and healthy so that in time Catholics might be enabled to win their rightful place in the state; Brady, *Annals*, 136; C. E. Raymund Palmer, *The Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk*, London, 1888, 200.

⁵⁶ Turner, *James II*, 327; von Ranke, IV, 332; Adda's dispatches November 26 and December 31, 1685, cited in Macaulay, II, 47.

⁵⁷ Trevelyan, *English Revolution*, 59; von Ranke, IV, 378.

⁵⁸ Even the Jesuit Father Pollen admits that the Society bears a large share of the responsibility for James' unpopularity and downfall; John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., "Lord Macaulay and Father Petre," *The Month*, September, 1911, 209.

⁵⁹ Barillon to Louis XIV, March 15, 1685, cited in Louis I. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden*, Ann Arbor, 1934, 168.

⁶⁰ This was an attitude James could never understand. Anyone who held it he regarded as a timorous compromiser; Terriesi's dispatch, April 29, 1687, cited in Bredvold, *Dryden*, 179. Terriesi was the Tuscan Ambassador to England. He was in close touch with the moderate faction and his dispatches are an important source of information concerning Catholic opinion and activity in the reign of James II.

⁶¹ Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, 126, cited in Bredvold, *Intellectual Milieu*, 172.

⁶² Terriesi's dispatch, March 11, 1686, cited in Bredvold, 176.

the folly of the court extremists. Thus one of the greatest difficulties the King encountered in his efforts to place Catholics in the administration was finding enough Catholics to fill the proffered positions.⁶³ Many Catholics remonstrated with James to abandon efforts to force their co-religionists into Oxford, urging the building of a national Jesuit college instead.⁶⁴ The elevation of Father Petre to the Privy Council and the appointment of Tyrconnel as commander of the Irish troops provoked dismay and vigorous objection among the Catholic moderates. Lords Bellasis, Dover, and Arundel made public speeches against Tyrconnel, Bellasis describing him as fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms.⁶⁵ The Earl of Powis, another of the leaders of the Catholic moderates, implored the King not to allow Tyrconnel to carry out his plans forcibly to return Irish lands to their ancient owners.⁶⁶ As for Petre, by 1688 most Catholics had become convinced that his influence over the King could bring only ruin to their Church and themselves, consequently they despised him as heartily as did the Protestants.⁶⁷ Likewise, English Catholics for the most part resented the King's alliance with France quite as much as their Protestant countrymen.⁶⁸

The moderates, too, consistently opposed any exercise of the royal dispensing power⁶⁹ in their behalf, when parliamentary concurrence was lacking. Action of this sort split king and parliament, and in such a division Protestants immediately identified parliament with constitutionality and legality and the Catholic King (and, indirectly, all Catholics) with absolutism and caprice. This was precisely what the moderate Catholics wanted, at all costs, to avoid. Their scrupulous regard for constitutionality was best illustrated in 1688 when the Anglican bishops drew up a petition to the King in which they explained their refusal to read the Second Declaration

⁶³ Trevelyan, *English Revolution*, 435.

⁶⁴ Macauley, II, 204.

⁶⁵ Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 304; Bredvold, *Intellectual Milieu*, 177; Hume, *History of England*, VI, 319; Butler, *Historical Memoirs of Catholics Since the Reformation*, III, 99.

⁶⁶ Hume, VI, 319.

⁶⁷ Clarendon's Diary, December 20, 1688, cited in *Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, Including the Diary of Lord Clarendon*, ed., by Samuel Wells Singer, London, 1828, II, 232; Terries's dispatch, June 28, 1688, cited in Bredvold, *Intellectual Milieu*, 180; Lingard, X, 260, 378.

⁶⁸ Blundell, *Letters*, 258.

⁶⁹ The "dispensing power" was the right of the king to exempt an individual from a legal penalty or restriction. It has long been a prerogative of the English crown. James interpreted it so broadly that it became, in effect, a "suspending power," that is, the right of the king to enact and repeal laws on his own authority. As so interpreted it amounted to undisguised absolutism.

of Indulgence in their churches. James sent them to the Tower of London and had them tried for seditious libel, but his own Attorney-General, Lord Powis, conducted the trial as fairly as possible⁷⁰ and the bishops went free. Later in the year the queen gave birth to a son, an event which catalyzed all the growing opposition to James as it opened the prospect of an indefinite continuance of Catholic rule. The King then sought to pack parliament so as to assure his son of the succession. Protestants and Catholics alike cried out against this violation of the law, and James' own hand-picked sheriffs refused to return any but the lawful representatives.⁷¹ In the face of the Dutch invasion in the late autumn of 1688 James summoned a great council of peers of the realm. The moderate Catholic lords joined with their Protestant counterparts in urging the King not to leave the country but to call parliament at once and assure his subjects that the law and the Established Church would be secured.⁷² Had this advice been followed it is quite possible that James might have saved his throne.

After the King's flight some of his intemperate supporters in Ireland tried to build up popular support for him in England. Few English Catholics, however, harbored any hope of James' ultimate return or would consent to associate themselves with an effort to bring him back.⁷³

Events, of course, proved the moderates to have been political realists. While the effort of James and his advisers to advance the cause of religious toleration in an intolerant age evokes a certain modern admiration⁷⁴ there can be no question that for English Catholicism James was a calamity. By failing to see that the ideally desirable was not the same as the politically possible the King and his rash counsellors bear a heavy responsibility for the continuation of the legal burdens which English Catholics bore for another one hundred and forty years.

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⁷⁰ Burnet, *History of My Times*, II, 468. Coming from the Anglican bishop Burnet, who lived contemporaneously with the events described, this is a significant admission.

⁷¹ Macaulay, II, 225-226, 237.

⁷² Tresham Lever, *Godolphin: His Life and Times*, London, 1952, 69; Helen C. Foxcroft, *A Character of the Trimmer*, Cambridge, 1946, 258.

⁷³ Blundell, *Letters*, 257. Neither Blundell nor his son would have anything to do with plans for armed defense of the King. Blundell says that only a few young men in Lancashire were serious supporters of James.

⁷⁴ This is, of course, to give James all the benefit of the doubt. It is quite possible that his ultimate intention was to replace Protestant intolerance with Catholic intolerance; cf. *supra*, 1.

DOCUMENT

Father Piret Lands in New York, 1846

Introduction

Father Piret's journal is a document of the permanent collections on exhibit at the Fort Mackinac Museum, Mackinac Island, Michigan. Even though it deals with his experiences in the East, its location on Mackinac Island is no surprise since he spent a large part of his adult life on the Northern shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan as a missionary priest. A photograph of Piret in later life and several pieces of his personal silver are also on display. From the somewhat faded likeness can be recognized a man inflexible in principles but kindly and understanding of human nature and its failings. Hallmarks on his silver, four forks and seven spoons, identify it as being continental and having been variously made just before or after the turn of the eighteenth century.

Little is known of Andrew D. J. Piret's early life.¹ He was born in Belgium, around 1802. It is thought by many, probably because of his manners and bearing, that he came of wealthy and aristocratic lineage. Father Piret came to the Great Lakes prepared to minister to both the spiritual and physical wants of his predominantly Indian parishioners; to them he was both a priest and a physician, having studied medicine in Paris before being ordained a secular priest. His soubriquet, "Iron Head," translated literally from the Indian, probably meant "Man of Great Wisdom" to the Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa he served.

In the spring of 1846, Piret landed in New York City to take up his life in the New World. The novel scenes, rude manners of our busy pioneer ancestors and general excitement stimulated him to record his feelings and impressions for posterity. The fact that they were written on scraps of paper and margins of newspapers would seem to indicate that he wrote while inspired and unable at the moment to secure better material.²

¹ Mr. John T. Nevill of *The Evening News*, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, generously made his notes on Father Piret available for the preparation of this introduction.

² *Michigan History*, Vol. 6, 232.

The same year Father Piret landed in New York City he traveled to Albany *via* the Hudson River. Included in the journal is a graphic description of the River's majestic beauty as seen through his eyes. This trip was no doubt a part of his waterway journey to Detroit where he was soon assigned the responsibility of administering the twin missions of St. Ignace and Mackinac Island. His diocese included an expanse of territory from Detour to Manistique, in length almost 150 miles across Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

Around 1850, Father Piret moved from Mackinac Island to a piece of land he owned on the mainland just opposite Marquette Island, one of the Les Cheneaux Islands in Lake Huron. Though his missions were taken over by a younger priest, he continued to serve his extensive parish for almost twenty more years, using a sailboat in the summer and a dog-sled in the winter. It is said that each night he placed a lighted candle in his window as a beacon of welcome for lost and weary travellers in Michigan's north country.

In 1868 Father Piret's house and farm buildings burned to the ground. Shortly after that he moved to Cheboygan, Michigan, where he passed away on August 22, 1875.

A graphic delineation of Father Piret's personality, philosophy and religious endeavors can be found by reading Constance Fenimore Woolson's novel, *Anne*, first published in 1882. She is said to have known him personally while both were residents of Mackinac Island in the early post fur-trade era. Father Piret is featured in her book as "Father Michaux" who is cast in the multiple role of bishop, governor, judge and doctor.

While living in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan Piret exercised his intellectual capacities by corresponding with inquisitive individuals in other mission stations and colleges. His interests embraced plant and animal life, mineralogy, Indian customs and legends, and even recipes for sauces. His deep interest in scientific subjects is evidenced by his appearance before the zoological and mineralogical society of Washington, D. C.

The Piret journal was presented to the Mackinac Island State Park Commission in 1922 by Mrs. Brayton Saltonstall. She was the daughter of George W. Bell, of Cheboygan, Michigan, executor of Father Piret's will.

The location of the original manuscript on paper scraps is unknown. A transcription of the journal as written in French and its translation, have been preserved in a notebook that appears to be of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The two versions

are obviously not in the same handwriting or even similar ink. The English rendition is dated June 20, 1902, and is no doubt the work of Brayton Saltonstall.³ Whether the French portion of the manuscript was written by Father Piret or copied into it by someone else cannot be ascertained.

Saltonstall's translation was used for this presentation of the Piret journal. It was found completely acceptable when checked against the French by Miss Marion Tamin, Assistant Professor of French, Western Michigan College. Changes in punctuation and sentence structure made by the editor have been indicated in the usual manner. Nothing has been omitted except that portion of the journal dealing with Piret's description of the Hudson River below Albany. The latter was not included because, even though poetic, it adds nothing to our knowledge of life on the Eastern seaboard of the first half of the last century.

Father Piret's candle has long ceased to glimmer over the lonely stretches of Lake Huron. His journal, however, continues to illuminate his thoughts and impressions of New York City, Baltimore and Washington of one hundred ten years ago.

ALEXIS A. PRAUS

Kalamazoo Public Museum

Piret's Journal

My arrival in New York the last of May 1846.

The sentiments experienced by an European on setting foot for the first time upon American soil are inexpressible. Mine at least were so when I touched the land of liberty which I had so longed to see; this pleasure was all the greater for me because I had almost been deprived of it by a terrible storm, which subjected me to all the agony of an impending shipwreck! I was tempted to kiss everybody! It was a wild joy, but very sincere, because it came from the heart.

My baggage had hardly been deposited at the hotel, when I started to walk about the city, which according to the census of 1845 contained a population of 372,102 souls.

³ *Michigan History*, Vol. 4, 512.

It is a mixture of all the population of Europe, but not of what constitutes its finest part.

This conglomeration of men, so unlike each other, formed of such heterogeneous elements, keeps the Police of New York upon edge, night and day.

At first the Americans must have formed a very sad idea of the people of the Old World! to judge from the samples which came to them from there!

One sees, in New York, structures of all kinds, because everyone builds there in the style of his own country, one can take, in a very short time a complete course in architecture and the history of the origin of Nations[;] it is a Babel of confusion of tongues.

At last, tired of running to and fro, I returned to form a more ample acquaintance with my chamber, but I was not comfortable there. I slept little and badly, it seemed to me as if I were still in the ship! my room was low, I suffocated. The Astor House resembles an elegant barracks, the lower part of the hotel does well enough[;] but the 400 sleeping rooms are villianous nests! as to comfort there is much to be desired and yet one pays two dollars and a half per diem.*

To see the physiognomy of the people of the morning as I had examined yesterday that of the people of the day and of the evening, I went out early, at break of day. What a concourse at the wharves of all these steamboats with sails, which disembark people and merchandise from all the countries of the world! going and coming in the streets and upon the markets, what a difference in costumes, this would be the moment to make a complete collection of the costumes of the people of all nations, all these rags and tatters which I pass in review have a very great value for a genuine amateur. What a sight all these people are!

I took breakfast with beings with features and manners of all sorts, very interesting indeed for a physiognomist, a caricaturist or a linguist. Some ate, other devoured! very few with relish.

What whims in the tastes of men! This one puts sugar with his eggs! his *vis-à-vis* broke four of them in the tumbler! this is not very pleasing I do not know why! if one examines the one who is

* The author, a stranger to the American coinage evidently falls into an error in converting the hotel rate into its French equivalent. He says ten francs and fifty centimes or \$2.10, an unlikely rate. It was doubtless \$2.50 or twelve francs and fifty centimes; Brayton Saltonstall.

eating them it is still worse, he has a thick unkept beard of a reddish yellow shade such as I have seen among the Baskirs, a beard which he covers insensibly with his eggs!

Another mixes cream with his goose berries, who has a neighbor who eats them with syrup, but of all exorbitant customs, I saw one who salted his coffee! either it was a man half dead from improper living or else an excentric [*sic*]. In the distance I perceived one who ate everything, more or less, with the fingers! The fork here, it is true, is almost a useless piece of furniture, it has only two long large tines, very far apart and serves only to push the morsels upon the round point of a large knife.

I saw not far from me to the left two very curious individuals—the first works the jaw with the rapidity of machinery, the second hardly opens it to allow the food to pass, he chews nothing, one would say he is a ruminant[.] His neighbor appears to think so, or else he says to himself in the words of Broussair[.], "the stomach is an indefinable creature." If I knew the language well and permitted myself, I would be tempted to engage myself for a month as a waiter, what a fine plan to see everything well, what a pretty album I would make.

In the course of the day I made a visit to Mr. Mally, Belgian consul, who received me politely, no doubt in my capacity as bearer of despatches. [H]e put his barn at my disposal for storing my baggage till my return from Washington.

In the afternoon toward evening the youngest of the brothers (for there are three) came to take me for a walk with him, after which he took me to supper at one of those Oyster Houses such as there are at Ostende. [T]he Oysters served us, in a very pretty room, I vow, were very large! I prefer those of Ostende. The party over, he escorted me to my hotel where we shook each other by the hand like two friends who would pass some time without seeing each other! The following day I got away for Washington. [T]owards seven o'clock I boarded a steamboat called a Ferry boat which landed me presently in New Jersey. [Here] I took the railroad to speed by machinery towards the Capital of the United States across the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, [*sic*] Delaware [*sic*], Maryland and the District of Columbia which touches Virginia. This long journey was accomplished without accident [;] now on a steamer, now by rail, through swamps[,], valleys, mountains, forests, fields of wheat, tobacco, corn, Orchards, meadows, all

dotted with Cities, towns, villages, farms [and] cottages. Philadelphia, capital of Pennsylvania, [sic] . . . is a magnificent city with wide streets laid out as straight as a string, ornamented with trees having beautiful houses[,] fine covered markets, an academy of medicine, a college bearing the name of Girard. [He was] a Frenchman [who] become a millionaire from the poor man that he was[.] [He died] an atheist, I am told, [and] the Port of Philadelphia is his penitentiary.

This city which contains a population of 258,079 inhabitants is very flourishing, through its location on the Delaware [sic] river. Baltimore, the capital of Maryland has not like its neighbor, streets as wide nor as straight (and I congratulate it therefore) but it has something better than the well beloved City of Penn—a Charming and picturesque situation, more advantageous for commerce, located as it is upon the Chesapeake [sic] (an arm of the Atlantic). [I]ts population is 134,379 inhabitants.

Baltimore has an arch bishopric, a good college directed by the Catholic clergy and boarding schools for young ladies directed by the Sisters. Washington is not remarkable except for the name it bears. Its Capital (rotunda after the order of that of the Botanical garden of Brussels) is a monument of rather pretty style. [T]hat which beautifies it greatly is the immense lawn cut up with paths and ornamented with magnificent trees here and there. [P]laced above this piece of verdure the edifice looks well. It is the house of the representatives of the Nation. [O]ne notes also quite a fine library, some paintings and several statues, the work of artists of the Old World. At the foot of the monument is found a fountain, properly arranged, which pours its water into a basin near which is [a] large cup fastened to an iron chain fixed in the wall for use of the public who wish to drink. The residency of the President of "America" has nothing remarkable about it, no more than the other public buildings—Oh yes! I was forgetting that Washington, located upon the Potomac, a beautiful river I own, is very favorably situated for commerce. Its population is only 33,745 inhabitants.

Still another very grave oversight! It is here that all the great European Diplomats reside. Really I am going to be forced to admit that the City of Washington is celebrated for more than one reason, through force of a train of circumstances[.] A few miles from Washington is Georgetown separated from the District of

Columbia by the Potomac, a charming, picturesque place renowned for a college of Jesuits and a fine boarding school, directed by the Dames du sacré coeur.

I was received very politely indeed by Colonel De Beauliere[,], our chargé d'affaires, to whom I delivered the despatches of which I was the bearer. We took tea together. He returned my visit at the hotel where I was stopping. [H]is wife was very kind to me, but neither the one nor the other, any more than the consul, knew that I was a priest!

Mr. Polk[,], president of the United States had the courtesy to converse with me for more than an hour about our little Belgium, of its liberal constitution, the industry of its inhabitants, of the wisdom of its King, the products of the country and its commercial relations with America. [A]nd then he very kindly gave valuable directions and information upon the United States. He invited me to call again and his last words were—"You must become an american citizen Mr. Piret, it is among us that your place is marked out, here you will be in your element" and he pressed my hand between both of his in the most affectionate manner.

Having some letters of introduction to prominent men I began to seek out their residences and by all of them I was graciously received. The president of the Zoological and Mineralogical Society received with joy a little collection of specimens which I had to offer to the government on the part of a learned society of Belgium. Honorable mention and thanks were voted at a public meeting and ordered printed. [I]t was then that the president in the name of his worthy colleagues made me a present of a beautiful volume. [O]ur "Chargé d'affaires" did as much. [I]t was very flattering for me. [A]t last, every thing finished, my mission accomplished, I regained New York by another route which offered nothing remarkable.

Book Reviews

Man and Land in Peru. By Thomas R. Ford. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1955. Pp. ix, 176. \$4.00.

In essaying to write on Peruvian man-land relationships from the Incas to Odria, Professor Ford, a sociologist, assumed a large and difficult task. While he devotes but one chapter to the history of his subject, he recognizes throughout his work the necessity of looking at the present through the lens of the past in the slow-changing Indian world of Peru. In his use of this approach lie both the strength and weakness of the book.

The result of this synthesis, necessarily oversimplified here, comes to something like this: The Indian agricultural workers were oppressed under the Inca system of extreme collectivism, but they were submissive because of a thorough process of social and cultural unification. In the long colonial period, the Spanish government enacted beneficent legislation to protect the property and other rights of the Indian farmer, but it was almost totally ineffective to prevent the rise of a rural proletariat. Nor was the Spanish settler willing or even interested in bringing the Indian into his new individualistic economy his equal as an economic man. As a result there was only a partial fusion of the two cultures which continued to live uneasily side-by-side down to the revolutions. The republican era with its confusion, civil turmoil, and war, simply eliminated whatever effective containment there had been upon the exploitation of the Indian and the expropriation of his land despite the well-meaning legislation of San Martín, Bolívar, and others.

That is the state of the vast majority of the Peruvian farmers today. Without advertising to the extremely unequal distribution of the land, Professor Ford finds that the amount of cultivated soil per individual averages less than half an acre. They work the land as renters, sharecroppers, or laborers on large private or corporate estates where they receive subsistence only or token wages running as high as fifteen cents a day additionally. The total annual income of the majority of individuals averages between twenty-five and fifty dollars per year.

The author suggests no panaceas, but he does have hope. He rejects out-of-hand any concept of "innate ineptitude" in the Peruvian Indian that would make him unresponsive to the economic good. But centuries of indifference or exploitation by masters who were themselves not interested in better results have contributed to his indolence and indifference. The statistics on disease, malnutrition, and the consumption of coca and alcohol tell the rest of the story. With new avenues of knowledge developing, however, and new ideas sifting through to these people the change will come. The first step will be organization. Unfortunately at this point, Ford looks back nostalgically for inspiration to the days of González Prada, Mariátegui, and Haya de la Torre, the anarchists and Marxists of recent Peruvian history who developed the Indianist cult called APRA.

Ford frankly admits the limitations of his current data and uses it cautiously. His care is much less apparent in his handling of the Spanish materials where his conclusions are stated with finality. The fact is that there has been no monographic work done on the Spanish period comparable to Zavala's in Mexico on this subject. The documents are lying in the Archivo de la Hacienda or burned and water soaked in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima or scattered in archives in Chile and Spain. It would be interesting to find out the details of Indian life on the Jesuit Lands whose confiscation in 1767 the author views with apparent approval. What happened to the schools, the colleges, hospitals and charitable institutions they supported? What happened to the lands after confiscation? Were they distributed to the Indians? These, of course, are questions for the historian.

PAUL S. LIETZ

Loyola University, Chicago

The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters. By Bernard Duffey. Michigan State College Press, 1954. Pp. 285. \$6.50.

Among Michigan State College's *Studies in Language and Literature* is *The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters*. Many of the numerous books on Chicago which have appeared in recent years, including Emmet Dedmon's (probably the best of these), have treated "Chicago writers" of the last century in some fashion or other. Mr. Duffey, however, has given all readers interested in modern American literature a valuable study of these writers.

He has considered from a serious and objective viewpoint writers as early and as different as Eugene Field and Hamlin Garland. He has proceeded through authors such as Robert Herrick, Edgar Lee Masters, and Vachel Lindsay to Vincent Starrett, Ben Hecht and other contemporaries, not forgetting a good chronicle of *Poetry's* editors and contributors—the one living *poetry* magazine in the world with forty-three years of continued existence. This book is a very useful guide to the "Chicago Renaissance." It is a sincere and readable study of important and influential writers in the literary history of middle-America and of "America at large."

NORMAN WEYAND

Loyola University, Chicago

The Campaign for the Sugar Islands 1759, A Study of Amphibious Warfare. By Marshall Smelser. Foreword by Samuel Eliot Morison. Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1955. Pp. xii, 212. \$5.00.

This book is remarkable for its neatness. It is neatly organized, neatly and interestingly written and neat in format and printing. The incident of the British occupation of the Sugar Islands in 1759, well set on the broad

canvas of the great Anglo-British wars for empire in the eighteenth century, is illustrative of the international scheming in politics, the widespread struggle for world trade products, and the place of the soldier and seaman in the designs of the London directors of economic imperialism. To this extent the conquest of the few small islands looms larger than what the title of the book might imply, namely, a detailed account of the first amphibious attack in more modern times. Professor Smelser has fashioned his narrative chiefly from official, executive documents and from memoirs and records of officers who engaged in the West Indian campaign.

In his introduction Professor Smelser, describing the many areas of conflict between France and England, points particularly to the alarm of the British in the 1750's over the French sugar production and slave trade in the West Indies, which bade fair to ruin British trade, and to the French capture of Minorca in the Mediterranean, which was strategically important to British plans in Europe. William Pitt rose to the challenge of the British defeats. He organized parliamentary and popular thought to give England a series of victories. One of these was the capture of the Sugar Islands by daring. Pitt's purpose in launching the amphibious attack was to use Guadeloupe or Martinique in a trade for Minorca, though another powerful motive was to close Martinique as a base for French privateers who had already taken 1,400 British merchantmen.

In 1758 the army of the tropics numbering 9,000 was "organized" under Major General Peregrine Thomas Hopson, the marines were under Captain John Moore, the fleet was under Commodore Robert Hughes, but beyond this confusion reigned. Some of the elements that have made the comic opera *Pinafore* amusing appeared in the launching of the ships, and Professor Smelser is not without humor in his story of the voyage, what with such items to discuss as emeritus transports, straying ships, missing soldiers and officers, and the French knowledge of the assembling and where-to of the expedition. The minute, scholarly, account of the attack on Martinique reveals expert inefficiency on both the French and British sides, and the whole would be laughable if some of the men had not got killed or become sick before the British decided to withdraw.

The move on the next objectives, the two parts of the island of Guadeloupe, takes up four chapters of the book. The few forts were pitifully weak in men and ammunition. The first attack began on January 23, 1759, with bombardments before landings on Basse Terre; on May 1 the other part of the island, Capesterre, capitulated, just at the time the British were making up their minds to withdraw because of illness and losses. The results of the three months campaign are given in a chapter euphemistically headed "The Campaign as a Work of Art." Britain rejoiced in a great victory and Guadeloupe was returned to France for French recognition of the Mississippi as the western boundary of the British colonies. There is a bibliography, an appendix defining terms, and a good index.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Vichy Political Dilemma. By Paul Farmer. New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. vi, 376. \$5.00.

Few more depressing scenes emerge from the pages of modern history than the 20th century failure of French institutional vitality and dynamism. Mr. Farmer in this trenchant and charitable study of France under the Vichy regime has carefully connected the wartime government of Marshal Henri Pétain with the objectiveless years of the Third Republic. All areas of French life in the interwar period reflected a pessimism and lack of purpose that were ultimately to result in the tragedy of June, 1940. Not neglecting economic and social problems the author rightly maintains that the real decline of France is to be traced in terms of the constitutional problem of lack of governmental stability. The Third Republic had from its inception encountered political factionalism of the most self-seeking variety. More than anywhere in the West the liberal parliamentarianism of the French government with its impotent executive represented the paralysis of overly representative institutions. Impotency was resolved by intrigue and intrigue begot not statesmanship but the delicate art of political survival regardless of principle.

The unique value of this work is to be found in its treatment of the Vichy regime as an integral part of the history of modern France and as an objective analysis of the internal character and purpose of that government. Vichy created little of permanence and yet the Fourth Republic is not an exact replica of the Third. It is not without significance that the corporative, anti-individualist tendencies of Vichy were not discredited by defeat. Nor is there an essential difference between those who in 1941 held that France could best serve her interests by not attaching herself to either the Allied or Axis cause and today's exponents of neutralism.

The author makes clear that those who surrendered in 1940 were men reflective of a parliamentary system that advanced those who would compromise and retired those with conviction. However, the course they chose if open to question on the grounds of wisdom cannot be termed dishonorable. Three figures dominated the pre-armistice discussions. Reynaud, who would fight on but who was responsible for bringing both Pétain and Weygand into the cabinet; Weygand, who was present "to defend the honor of the French army" and who refused to allow the government to take up exile while the army assumed the onus of surrender; and Churchill, who continually undercut Reynaud's position by failing to insist that the French cabinet honor its solemn pledges.

Mr. Farmer traces the erosion of Vichy's independence culminating in the final extinction of sovereignty with the German occupation of Southern France in November, 1942. The story is traced to its conclusion through the following two years of complete collaboration by the Vichy government. The ease with which Pétain accepted the new situation is indicative that the regime's initial purpose of protecting a defeated France had given way to a position of inability to act unhappily reminiscent of the Third Republic.

What moral may we draw from the tragedy of Vichy? Most Vichyites were convinced they served the best interests of their nation. Are we to

ascribe their failure simply to the fact that they did not change their position when their national interests were no longer served by their position? Perhaps Mr. Farmer's is the best answer to these questions: "Is it not evident that the fault of such men is not that they were lacking in patriotism, but that patriotism was not enough? Does it not appear that they went to their undoing, not because they failed to recognize the interests of their nation or did not dedicate themselves to those interests, but because they recognized no higher obligation."

EDMUND W. KEARNEY

John Carroll University

Notes and Comments

What has all the earmarks of a fine contribution to bibliography came from Spain at the beginning of this year. It is *Bibliografía Histórica de España e Hispanoamérica*, Volume I, 1953-1954, under the more general heading of *Indice Historico Español*, which includes bibliographies on art, literature, culture and various disciplines besides history. The editing and compiling of this volume were done by the Centro de Estudios Historicos Internacionales of the University of Barcelona under the direction of Professor Jaime Vicens Vives and the editorial secretary, David Romano Ventura. The remarkable task of editing results in a well-classified compilation of 6871 titles of books on Spanish and Spanish American history published during the past few years over the world. After each book listed at least one reviewer's opinion of the book is given with the date and place of the review. The twenty-three page, small type introduction by Professor Vives explains the nature and plan of the work. There are two indexes, one of authors of books and of reviews on green paper and the other of topics or materials on yellow paper. With these the pages run to 859. There seems to be very few typographical errors in this remarkably useful volume.

* * * *

Walt Whitman's Concept of the American Common Man, by Leadie M. Clark, was published this year by Philosophical Library, New York. This book of 171 pages, a devastating attack on Whitman's concepts and principles, will arouse the ire of the poet's worshippers, even though Mr. Clark grants to Whitman the poetic qualities which have gained him a name in American literature. "For Whitman was not a thinker; he was a lyric poet." (P. 168.) Mr. Clark gathers his evidence from the writings of Whitman and shows rather conclusively that the self-styled "poet of Democracy" had day to day opinions on people and events, fashioned out of no set of fundamental principles, "But for no major problem of his age can one go to Whitman for a proposed solution." (P. 33.) He points out that Whitman's reading on economic theory, of which there is no evidence in his writings, was "vague and indefinite," and "If America had attempted to follow the economic and political

theories of Whitman, she would have foundered for want of a consistent plan." (P. 43.) The Indian, Whitman thought, should vanish; so should the Negro, especially since slaves took away rights of whites to work; the Irish were "foreign outcasts and bullies prompted by this fanatical wretch (Bishop Hughes) and his slaves" and so Whitman condoned Know Nothing violence (Pp. 72-73); he was intolerant of Catholics; he liked German moderation; he thought Italy had art and music but he did not care for Italians; in all this he was "not the unqualified lover of all mankind." When Mr. Clark analyzes him as a representative democrat and contrasts Whitman's idea of what the American common man was, we find Whitman a romanticist and a prophet of a milieu of racial superiority for Anglo-Saxons, revitalized in an American setting. The book has a bibliography and index, and a list price of \$3.75.

* * * *

The story of Jerome Increase Case and the J. I. Case Company has been told by Stewart E. Holbrook in the book *Machines of Plenty* with an alternate heading: *Pioneering in American Agriculture*. It was published in June of this year by The Macmillan Company and is listed at four dollars. Among the thousands of people streaming into the western plains during the 1840s was young J. I. Case (1819-1891) who became a world-known industrialist through the manufacturing of machines for agricultural usage, particularly the threshing machine. Case's idea of the thresher-separator was not original, nor could the inventions that regularly improved the machine be called his, but, according to Holbrook, Case was honest enough to buy patents and inventions rather than infringe on the rights of others. (P. 33.) Since it appears that the personality of Case is not glamorous, and much less the personality of a manufacturing plant or company, Mr. Holbrook digresses repeatedly on persons, places, and events, even to a chapter on lightning-rod agents and humbuggery. The style is journalistic, and the attempt to give the history of a large company in the setting of the last hundred years of vast agricultural progress resolves itself necessarily into a sketchy outline.

* * * *

The nations of the world, it is a truism, would come to live in happy concord if they would formulate and abide by a set of prin-

ciples of action in their dealings with one another. Each nation should have a foreign policy codified to such extent that successive administrations or governments in their foreign relations cannot suddenly veer on an altogether different tack from that followed by their predecessors. To show how such an ideal is not being upheld and how it might be is the general purpose of Professor Feliks Gross in his *Foreign Policy Analysis*, published by Philosophical Library, New York, in 1954. The author uses what he terms a scientific method of analyzing foreign policy, which method emerges in some complex, algebraic formulae that will leave the reader baffled and assuredly will not be clear to any ministers of foreign affairs. This scientific analysis is the first to be made with the "tools offered by modern social science," and the first to be based on the idea that foreign policy is a social process with social causation. The scientific method as applied seems, at least to this scribe, to mean that if our statesmen wish to form a permanent foreign policy, they will have to study first our American culture, ideology, politics, national interests and objectives, our philosophy of international relations. This type of study would involve the foreign policy maker in no end of reading. Yet this would only be background. Professor Gross would have your statesmen weigh each and all national factors which contribute to the formation of a policy: the geographic, economic, population, military, social-political, social-psychological, and a Factor X. After these have been evaluated there would be need for a similar study of each and every nation with whom we are to be related. Such a research method would establish a permanent formula for the conduct of our international affairs and would eliminate haphazard and expedient policies. Moreover, by applying the algebraic formulae, one would be able to predict what course a country like Russia might follow. The book is not casual reading.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXVII

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